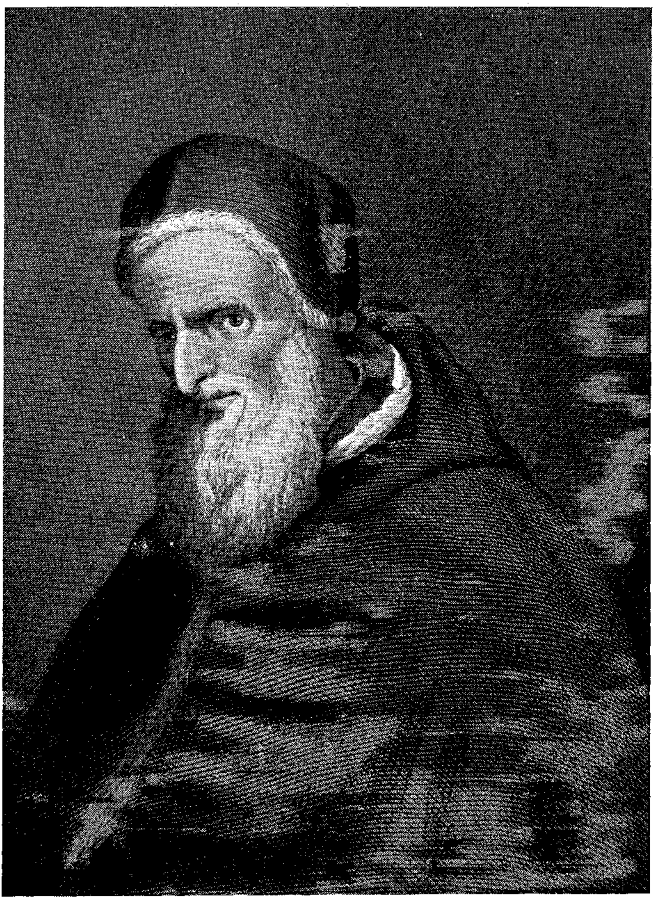
THE SWORD OF SAINT MICHAEL

SAINT PIUS V
1504-1572

LILLIAN BROWNE-OLF

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ST. PIUS V

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THE SCIENCE AND CULTURE SERIES

REV. JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., EDITOR

THE SWORD OF SAINT MICHAEL

TO THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS
OF ST. DOMINIC

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Sister Reparata, O.P., able librarian of Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude for assisting in my research; to Father Joseph Schroeder, O.P., librarian of the Dominican House of Studies at River Forest, lately deceased, whose carefully annotated references are preserved as treasured mementoes of a fine scholar and a whimsical personality; to my dear friend Grace Welsh who first introduced me to the gracious Dominican Sisters at Rosary College, River Forest, and at Edgewood College of the Sacred Heart in Madison, Wisconsin, whose acquaintance is such an inspiration; and finally, to the husband and son without whose patient cooperation this book would never have seen the light – to all these, my humble thanks!

L. B-O.

Presented to

Rev. P. Rodolfo Bossler, SJ

with the best wishes

of the Author

Lillian Browne-Olf.

Chicago, 1948. Jan. 2

CONTENTS

THE SWORD OF SAINT MICHAEL

Thy thousand thousand hosts are spread
Embattled o'er the azure sky;
But Michael bears Thy standard dread
And lifts the mighty Cross on high.

—*from* "Dedication Hymn to Saint Michael."

PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

Why, we may have wondered, did so many of the long succession of militant modern popes choose for themselves the name of "Pius"? It is a drift which began with the bitterly harassed Pius VI, at the close of the eighteenth century, and stretches on to the noble-minded Pius XII in the twentieth. Perhaps the absorbing story of Pope Saint Pius V, as here cast in popular form, may help to answer the question.

But first, to understand in full the implications involved in the title of this book, we should know that as a humble novice, in a Dominican cloister, the future Saint and Pontiff had selected for his patron in Religion the great Archangel Saint Michael, leader of the hosts of heaven and defender of Christ's Church on earth.

Fitting, indeed, and prophetic of events to come, that choice must appear to us now. Nor is it a mere idle figure of speech when the author presents the consecrated hero of this book under the bold image of "The Sword of Saint Michael," that fiery weapon forged in the armory of God. In Italy, Spain, the Lowlands; in Germany, France, and England; in Poland, Scotland, and elsewhere, there was seething unrest involving the Church and leaving her no peace. Across the stage of history moved challenging personalities: Mary of Scotland, Elizabeth of England, Catherine de Medici, Cardinal Borromeo, Philip II of Spain, Suleyman the Turk, and Don John of Austria! These, and hosts of others, were friends or foes to be taken into account.

But to picture comprehensively the scenes presented to us here we best can describe them as a gigantic encounter on three fronts.

The *first front,* then, was no other than Reform from within.

As we must understand from Christ's infallible promise, error could never take possession of the Church He was to build on Peter, for the gates of hell were never to prevail against her. But it is quite another thing to say that iniquity and unworthiness could never be found in her. We have definitely Christ's own parables of the cockle growing up with the wheat and the bad fish taken together with the good in one single net. The day of judgment will set all things right. Yet holiness must always remain a mark of God's Church, and always she has had her legions of saints.

Not unto death but unto life was the Sword of Saint Michael raised up here by the hand of God. Already the great Catholic Reform was under way. The vast movement for Christian enlightenment and high personal sanctification, of which the Pope set the supreme example, was fast helping to renew the world through the divinely instituted means which the Church alone possessed in all their plenitude. Through her members throbbed a new vitality, and not satisfied with spiritual conquests at home, she now bravely carried the Gospel to the distant mission fields.

That brings us to the *second front,* the Lutheran Revolt.

If now over Europe and beyond the bruit of discord rose bitter and unintermittent, the cause, as we well know and as all have reason deeply to deplore, was no other than the baneful division caused by the apostate German monk, false to his most sacredly pledged vows, but backed in his fatal step by temporal princes eager for

the loot of churches and of monasteries. The cruelties practised against Catholics, where their adversaries prevailed, made clear the seriousness of the conflict and its terrible social and civic consequences. In judging the defensive actions taken against like evils and for the preservation of the Faith, we must be careful not to project our twentieth century back into the sixteenth. It was the ardent and heroic zeal of Pius V, aided by the steady advance of Catholic Reformation, that stayed the course of destruction.

But Christ's promise held true. His Church remained one in creed and principles, as she had always been; while the groups separated from her forthwith showed their inherent human weakness. Feuds and divisions multiplied, until in our day sects are numbered by the hundreds. Most disillusioned of all was the arch-fomenter of disunion, Luther himself, whose novelty of private interpretation merely meant that thenceforth every man was free privately to interpret the Scriptures precisely in his own sense alone. He had broken the dykes and the floods would follow. Forgotten was the inspired warning, lest men wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction.

But worst of all in this tragic wreck of Christian unity outside the one only Church that Christ had built on Peter, was the constant attenuation and steady loss of fundamental truths and Christian principles. This, in direct course, led to agnosticism, deism, and ultimate atheism, and thence on to all the aberrations of modern ideologies that have ended in global murder, carnage, and hatred.

Yet there was still a *third front,* the menace of the Moslem.

This was the most sinister of all. "Crusade" was a thought uppermost in the Pontiff's mind, and here now

was the opportunity forced upon him. All Western civilization was in imminent and most deadly danger. All efforts of appeasement could only end in still more tragic results. It was not long before the infidel was battering at the defenses of Europe, while his galleys, propelled by Christian slaves under the Mohammedan lash, were proudly riding the high seas. Victory followed the crescent, as later it perched on the swastika banners at the outset of the Nazi invasion. Yet the complete defeat of the Moor, through the Pontiff's supreme effort and the benign aid of Mary, Help of Christians, to whom the people cried for succor, was to be the triumphant event that climaxed the heroic career of Pope Saint Pius V.

Graphically, in all its main details, the author describes the vast battle at sea in which Christendom was finally saved from butchery and slavery under the fanatic Moor.

But enough has been said to make plain the magnitude and importance of the subject presented in this volume, and expressed in a popular and attractive way. The new study complements the author's work, *Their Name Is Pius*. Amid the existing crisis of the nations it may stimulate in us something of that apostolic zeal with which the saintly Pontiff Pius V labored and prayed for Christian unity, so greatly needed in our day — that unity for which our Divine Lord earnestly implored the Heavenly Father: "that they may be one, as we also are one" (John 17:22).

Joseph Husslein, S.J., Ph.D.,
General Editor, Science and Culture Series

St. Louis University,
March 22, 1943

INTRODUCTION

In these dark days of bitter trial and cruel persecution, in the midst of total war and world revolution, the Catholic Church seems to men of little faith to stand with back to the wall, and her saintly Pontiff, Pius XII, to be held at bay. Unbelievers, who in the halcyon days never gave a thought to the Holy Father, are now frantically asking why his every effort to save European civilization from suicide and the Christian religion from destruction by pagan forces all over the world has proven futile.

In answer to these questions it is wise to call to mind other periods of history when the Church and Christian civilization were threatened with extinction . . . when the world suffered like disasters from the depredations of untamed human forces which almost eclipsed the beacon-light of Peter's Rock and caused the faith of her tormented children to be tested as in a crucible. Then, as now, the faithful cried up to God in anguish: "How long, O Lord, how long?"

It sounds trite and of little comfort, perhaps, to remind the skeptics and even the sorely-tried faithful that Christ will not forsake His Church, nor abandon His children. For did He not warn them they must expect persecution and martyrdom when He bade His disciples a sublime farewell? He did not promise them ease and comfort, but the joy and peace of His Abiding Presence and the assurance of immortal life.

But for His Church, definitely and unequivocably, He

did assure survival on this earth until "the consummation of all days." In studying the history of the Catholic Church, writers (like Macaulay) who are without the Faith, must always find her survival amazing. Her inherent vitality which Providence vouchsafed can be understood only by those who believe in her supernatural nature. Her triumph over the persecutions of her long martyrdom under the Roman emperors, when her pontiffs knew their election to the Chair of Peter meant death by violence; her survival of the barbarian invasions when Christian culture was kept alive by her cloistered sons; and much later her renascence after the havoc wrought by the subversive forces of the French Revolution are paralleled during the sixteenth century by a similar rebirth, through the agency of the Counter-Reformation, the Council of Trent, and the flowering of a galaxy of saints such as this world had rarely beheld.[1]

The forty-odd years after Luther openly defied the authority and doctrine of the Church had been devastating years for the unity of the Faith in Europe. Strictly speaking, Luther himself had been a Catholic reformer before he became a "Protestant."[2] His utter and final repudiation of the dogmas of Catholicism retarded a reformation within the Church but did not stop it. The "Reformation" of Luther was in reality a revolt against established authority. The "Counter-Reformation," so called, did not derive its motive force from Luther's movement, but rather from

[1] The Spanish saints alone present a formidable list: St. Ignatius, St. Teresa of Ávila, St. Francis Borgia, St. John of the Cross, St. John of God, St. Peter of Alcantara, St. Francis of Solano and St. John of Ávila. Add to these such men as Maldonado, Navarro, Salmeron, Toledo, Gregory of Valencia, Sanchez, Suarez, Juan of Santo Tomaso, Ripaldo, Barbosa, etc.

[2] The "protestation" of a minority of Lutherans at the Diet of Spires in 1529 *against* toleration of the Zwinglian sect first gave rise to the term. See p. 64.

a need within the Church itself, recognized by Catholic leaders and already begun by them.

The "Reformation" of Luther led to enormous evils from which the world is still suffering grievously; i.e., the founding of sectarian churches in various countries of Europe and the new world, the monstrous growth of nationalism, the subservience of the Church to the State resulting in the disunity of the Christian commonwealth and reaching its logical culmination in our own day in the totalitarian ideology, characterized by a reversion to paganism, and the repudiation of all divine authority. Abuses which they pretended to correct were, in reality, perpetuated and exaggerated under Lutheranism and its numerous off-shoots.

Though some of the leaders of the Catholic Reformation were doubtless influenced, and their zeal whetted, by Luther's Revolt, this is not true of the more representative leaders of the movement, like St. Ignatius, and (later) St. Vincent de Paul and St. Philip Neri, to mention only a few. In a certain very accurate sense the Church has continuously combated heresy, and the labor of the leaders of the so-called "Counter-Reformation" during the sixteenth century was merely a further continuance of a struggle that had never abated. Nevertheless, for convenience and historic clarity, Catholic scholars concede the interpretation of non-Catholic writers: that the term "Counter-Reformation" covers the period of Catholic revival which, roughly speaking, dates from the pontificate of Pope Pius IV in 1560 to the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648.

When Paul IV lay on his deathbed in 1559 he said to Father Laynez, his confessor: "From the time of St. Peter there has not been a pontificate so unfortunate as mine. How I regret the past! Pray for me." It was indeed a

dark period in papal history! Paul IV's appraisal of his own time was confirmed by the Venetian ambassador at Rome, Luigi Mocenigo. In his report to the Seignory he sums up the European situation in bitter words:

"In many countries obedience to the Pope has almost ceased; and matters are becoming so critical that, if God does not interfere, they will soon be desperate . . . Germany leaves little hope of being cured. Poland is in almost as helpless a state. The disorders which have lately taken place in France and Spain are too well known for me to speak of them; and the Kingdom of England . . . after returning a short time since to her old obedience, has again fallen into heresy. Thus the spiritual power of the Pope is so straightened that the only remedy is a council summoned by the common consent of all princes. Unless this reduces the affairs of religion to order, a grave calamity is to be feared."

In a spirit of utter pessimism Cardinal Morone, when he was leaving for the Council of Trent, is reported to have declared to the Venetian ambassador: "There is no hope."[3] Although his pessimism was not warranted, his words reveal how the best informed men of the day regarded the European outlook.

But already the remedy was at hand! The Council of Trent, the nineteenth ecumenical council to be held, lasted over a period of eighteen years,[4] under five pontiffs. It was convened in 1545 by Paul III[5] and was continued through the pontificates of Julius III, Marcellus II (who reigned only a few days), Paul IV (the vigorous and brooding Carafa), and Pius IV (the amiable and politi-

[3] Alberi, *Relazione degli ambasciatori Veneti,* 1859, II, iv, 22–82.

[4] 1545–1563. It was twice suspended, then renewed again.

[5] Paul III had approved the Society of Jesus five years earlier. In 1538 he had issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry VIII, and in 1542 had revived the Inquisition to combat the Lutheran heresy.

cally-minded Medicean uncle of S. Carlo Borromeo). It was the last named who brought the Council to a successful termination three years before his death and the election of Pius V. During these pontificates the Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I reigned.

The purpose of the Council was to examine and condemn the errors of Luther and his co-"Reformers," and truly to reform and discipline the Catholic Church. Of all the twenty great councils[6] in Church history the Trentine lasted longest, issued the largest number of decrees, both dogmatic and reformatory, and undoubtedly produced the most beneficent results.

When the Council of Trent was convened, Michele Ghislieri was a man of forty-one years, and had already been made Commissary of the Inquisition. It ended when he was fifty-nine, three years before he ascended the Throne of Peter as Pius V. During all these eighteen years he collaborated in the work of reform as Inquisitor. For this task, which never abated during the six years of his pontificate, he had prepared himself by unwearied loving prayer, by utter devotion to duty as a Dominican friar, and no less by the strictest self-discipline such as only the saints impose upon themselves to atone for the sins of their times.

The attempt to interpret such a man to the average modern individual is a bold and audacious undertaking. For he can be understood only as viewed in the white light of sanctity and seen against a background of the times in which he was destined to labor and of the evils which he fought to extirpate. To reconstruct those times it is useful and illuminating to draw parallels, but in this delicate task of reassessing a bygone age we must be wary,

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[6] The Vatican Council, convened in 1869 by Pius IX, was not called into being until three hundred years after the Council of Trent had terminated.

not only of resemblances, but also of differences in the temper of the times between our own and a remote period. A certain sensitiveness to impressions must be weighed in the balance of factual truth in order properly to comprehend the milieu of Europe as it appeared to men of good will four centuries ago.

So it is not enough to bring to the task the conscientious application of the impartial researcher and the cool scrutiny of the dispassionate scientist; the historical student must augment this necessary equipment with the warm sense of human sympathy and the alert imagination of the poet. Only by such means can the biographer hope to recreate a bygone age and revitalize the stage on which the actors of a distant drama played their exciting roles. The author must discover the *norm* of the social and moral atmosphere in which his characters lived and moved; and against that background he must attempt to reveal the actors in their true perspective and vivid likeness. Only thus can the writer faithfully depict a far-away period and infuse into his characters the breath of life.

This requirement is peculiarly applicable to the outstanding players on the stage of sixteenth century Europe who, because of the multitudinous and varied events amidst which they moved, enacted a drama as fascinating as it was baffling and involved.

The chief character among them all, whom we have here chosen for our subject, must not be judged by modern standards which evolved long after he had left the scene of action. He can be truly appraised, both as a man of his day and in the role of his high pontifical office, only if he is seen in the white light of a Dominican Religious and as a zealous reformer dedicated to the stupendous task of rescuing Europe from a disastrous loss of Christian faith, as this faith had been accepted and practised

throughout the centuries and had found its most glorious expression in the Middle Ages — that apogee of Christian unity and Catholic culture.

The Lutherans, Calvinists, and Huguenots were the heretics against whom Pius V wielded unremitting warfare. The Turks were a formidable foe of the papacy and of all that Catholic Christianity stood for and the Holy See jealously guarded. Elizabeth of England had been a thorn in the papal flesh for eight years when Pius V came to Peter's throne. Yet he postponed her excommunication for four years longer, until, as some Catholic writers aver, it was too late to be effective; while Protestants criticized the papal Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis,* as outmoded and an arrogant assumption of papal authority.

The chessboard of European politics at which the canny Elizabeth loved to play, now with the cautious, slow-moving Philip II of Spain; now with Francis, Duke of Alençon, and Henry of Anjou, the French sons of Catherine de'-Medici of insensate ambition; and now with her own ministers, deserves special attention. True, it has been charted by modern writers, but always through the eyes of the rulers themselves, or from the viewpoint of their acts and adherents. We shall reverse this method and focus the telescope from the angle of the Vatican, after carefully wiping the lens. We shall inquire: "How did sixteenth century Europe appear through the eyes of the Holy See?" "What did Pius V behold from his watchtower on Vatican Hill as his eager vision swept over the European scene of his day?"

L. B-O.

1

THE ELECTION

DURING mid-December, 1565, while the body of the late Medicean Pontiff, Pius IV, lay at rest in the Pauline Chapel awaiting interment in St. Peter's,[1] Rome was outwardly quiet. The streets were undisturbed. No pasquinades defaced the lampposts. No popular demonstrations gave any hint of the tremendous significance of the impending conclave. The Eternal City seemed scarcely to realize there was a vacancy in the papacy. True, due precautions had been taken by ecclesiastical authorities that nothing unseemly should disturb the solemnity of the occasion. For public outbreaks were not unknown in Rome during some papal interregna. Popular disturbance after Pius IV's predecessor's departure from the papal scene, less than six years earlier,[2] was not forgotten by those who were responsible for the city's tranquillity; but now their vigilance seemed uncalled for and quite unnecessary.

Due to the portentous events which had shaken Europe

[1] Under Gregory XIII, in 1583, Pius IV's remains were removed to the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which he had founded and consecrated, and which Michelangelo had formed out of one of the immense halls of the Baths of Diocletian.

[2] The statue of Paul IV on the Campidoglio was decapitated and the severed head rolled into the Tiber, his armorial bearings were demolished, as were all the memorials of his family, the Carafa.

for the past forty-five years, ever since Luther had written his treatise *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church,* in which he attacked not only the abuses of the papacy, but even the doctrinal system of the Church, Christianity was in a tragic plight on the Continent and in England. For Luther's defection had resulted in ever new divisions in Germany, such as the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists; while in neighboring Switzerland, Calvin and Zwingli founded new schisms until the cantons were settling their differences in bloodshed. In Geneva, Calvin, "the Protestant Pope," attended in person the burning at the stake of his rival, Michael Servetus, whose escape to Italy he is said to have thwarted, and whose execution he is said to have sanctioned. In England, the defiance of Henry VIII to papal authority had culminated under his "bastard" daughter Elizabeth (as he himself had named her and as Cranmer had proclaimed her just before her mother's execution) into a settled policy, warily achieved by those consummate politicians, the Virgin Queen herself, and her able, consciencelesss minister, Cecil. In France the Huguenots[3] had arisen, and soon numbered in their ranks many noble families, like the Condé and the Coligny, who were to plunge France into fratricidal strife for over a generation in no less than eight religious wars.

So threatening was the Turkish menace that, before the conclave convened, Count Broccardo begged the College of Cardinals not to delay in allocating the ten thousand ducats promised by the late Pontiff for the relief of Malta.[4]

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[3] The origin of the name is said by some authorities to be derived from the name of a gate at Tours — *Ugon* — where the Calvinists met. It is claimed that King Ugon, for whom the gate was called, was used by mothers of naughty children to scare them as we use the term *bugaboo,* and was applied to the Calvinists because of their meetings in the shadow of the gate under cover of night.

[4] See p. 245.

This was done after Cardinal d'Este, who represented the Knights of Malta, himself guaranteed to make good the deficit in the depleted treasury, in case the newly elected Pontiff should not confirm the donation.

Many cardinals were considered plausible *papabili,* and each had his backing of influential supporters, so that the conclave promised to be a long drawn-out one. From Rome, Caligari[5] wrote in a letter to Cardinal Commendone in Mantua, declaring it would probably last six months, because of the various blocs. Fearing this dangerous policy would prevail, the Venetians urged that the election be speeded – both because of the Turkish menace and the impending Diet in Germany.

On the evening of the nineteenth of December, 1565, at the conclusion of the obsequies for Pius IV, the cardinals went into conclave. On the following day, after High Mass in St. Peter's, the Conclave Bull of Pius IV was sworn to by the cardinals who had been absent when, immediately after the Pope's death, it had been solemnly assented to by all present. At midnight the conclave was closed, and the forty-eight cardinals were virtually walled in.

Under Pius IV, French influence had been considerably increased; so much so that de Requesens, Spanish ambassador under Philip II, had been recalled to Spain. It was known that the queen-regent, Catherine de'Medici, hoped for the election of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. Her hopes were vain, however; for the only French cardinal to take part in the conclave was Cardinal Reumano, the others not having arrived in Rome. Because of the insistence of Cardinal Borromeo, who demanded the conclave should be called (according to the recent confirmation of

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[5] Andrea, auditor of Commendone.

the ancient custom) ten days after the death of a pontiff, the French cardinals who had not come to Rome were denied admittance, so that their influence was *nil.* Pius IV, whose own election was the result of interference by foreign powers through their ambassadors at the Holy See, had created by his Bull an almost air-tight isolation from the outside world. Anyone who should try to circumvent the strictures of the Bull was threatened with the penalty of excommunication!

It was no secret that Cosimo de'Medici, who naturally exerted an influence upon his own son, Ferdinando de'-Medici, wanted the election to result in "a Pope who would not come from a princely family, whose inclination would be to enhance the fortunes of his own relatives."

Philip II steadfastly refused to exercise his influence over the conclave, although it was recognized that his prestige with the Sacred College was greater than that of any other monarch in Europe, since his Catholicity was never questioned. The king of Spain instructed his ambassador, de Requesens, that only one requirement was necessary; i.e., "to elect a Pope who was pious and a lover of peace." He wanted a pontiff who had the reform of the Church at heart. Requesens wrote to Philip of the qualities of several of the cardinals, and of none did he speak more highly than of Cardinal Michele Ghislieri, or "Alessandrino," as he was called in Rome. "Ghislieri would make a Pope called for by the times," wrote the ambassador to his king in Spain.

But the leading influence in his ultimate election was to be Carlo Borromeo. No cardinal's prestige at the conclave was greater than that of this saintly prelate against whom (although a nephew of Pius IV, from whom he had received many favors) no jealous accusation of nepotism

was ever leveled. Borromeo's intrinsic worth, his integrity, and innate abilities overcame the charge of a practice which was no longer condoned. After a delay of fifteen days – from the twenty-second of December to the fifth of January – the election of the Dominican Ghislieri was assured, with the aid of so powerful a supporter.[6]

It was eventide when the cardinals[7] proceeded to Ghislieri's cell. They led the reluctant Dominican to the Pauline Chapel. When all were seated in their stalls the cardinal dean arose and proclaimed: "I, Cardinal Francesco Pisano, dean of the Sacred College, elect as Pope my most reverend Lord Michele, known as Cardinal Alessandrino." After this proclamation had been confirmed individually by the several cardinals, there was a long silence until the terrified cardinal, completely overcome, was able to whisper *"Mi contento su"* (I am willing).

Cardinal Pacheco wrote to Philip II: "The election was evidently the work of the Holy Ghost, since many who, at their entry into the conclave, would have cut off their feet rather than support Ghislieri had been the first to

[6] Saint Charles Borromeo, as in our tongue we know him, was at the time only twenty-seven years old. Many years later he wrote to the King of Portugal: "Believing as I did that were he elected he would govern the Church gloriously, I employed my whole influence to elect him to St. Peter's Chair. The Holy Spirit visibly favored my hopes by miraculously uniting on him the votes of the cardinals." (Cardinals Morone and Sirtelo had been leading in the scrutinies.) San Carlo was the product of the "Oratory of Divine Love," founded at Genoa at the end of the fifteenth century.

[7] The cardinals who were present at the conclave were men of exceptional ability and character. They were filled with the true spirit of reform and zealous for Catholic Restoration. The fact that such able and powerful candidates as Cardinal Farnese, nephew of Paul III and founder of the Gesù in Rome, and Cardinal Morone, who had distinguished himself as Bishop of Modena and Bologna, as Nuncio to Germany, and as presiding Legate at the Council of Trent and who with St. Ignatius had founded the German-Hungarian College, were passed over in favor of the Dominican friar Ghislieri, is proof positive how devoted to the best interests of the Church the College of Cardinals were.

agree to his election." This opinion seemed to be substantiated by the fact that Borromeo (whose uncle, Pius IV, had never looked favorably upon the stern Dominican) supported the candidate wholeheartedly. Borromeo was one of those saints who could combine shrewd strategy with profound conviction. His delay in openly supporting Ghislieri was due to the fact that, if he had done so at the opening of the conclave, his support would have proved a doubtful service to the candidate. He had awaited the propitious moment when the other candidates were eliminated; then he threw the whole weight of his influence to Ghislieri and openly espoused his cause.

The Romans were divided as to their reaction to the election of so strict a pontiff who, out of consideration for Borromeo, took the title of "Pius V," after the late pontiff. Many of the Roman citizens were delighted that so saintly a Pope was to take the helm of the Ship of Peter, which, in the troublous times when schism and heresy were rampant, and so many abuses within the Church needed correction, had suffered so tragically. Men of good will everywhere felt that the election was for the greater glory of God and the purification of Christ's Church. The others: the timid, the sinful, the politically minded, and the adherents of the new sects, were frankly alarmed. And well they might be, for his past history had shown Ghislieri to be a man of adamant will when he was convinced he was right, and "right" for him meant "right for the Church of Christ." Nevertheless, he was a man not devoid of sensitiveness and kindliness in his desire to administer his terrifying office wisely and well. He declared upon accepting the tiara which was to weigh so heavily upon his brow, "I hope to govern in such a way that the grief felt at my death will be greater than that which is felt at my election."

2

MICHELE GHISLIERI

IT IS not difficult to portray the early years of Michele Ghislieri. It is a simple tale simply told. Like his famous compatriot, Giotto, who had initiated a new spirit in the glorious history of Italian art, he was a shepherd; and like his namesake and successor to the Chair of Peter, Pius X, he was born in the humblest surroundings, in an environment of poverty and obscurity. The dingy house in Bosco in which the future Pope first saw the light of day is still intact. The passing traveler would not bestow upon it a second glance were he not told that within these bleak walls once dwelt a future great pontiff whom the Church was to elevate to her altars as a saint of God.

Bosco is near Alessandria in Piedmont, in what was then the duchy of Savoy, where the ancestors of his parents, Paolo and Dominica Augeria, had lived since 1336.[1] There he was baptized and received the name of Antony,

[1] It is a pity that the story related by his earlier biographers, so colorful and attractive, of how the exiled Ghislieri family came to Bosco from Bologna, is given no credence by Pastor who claims that the tale originated only after Michele became Pope and that the Bologna family sought honor and fame by claiming Pius V a descendant of their branch of the exiled family which took the name of Consiglieri in Rome.

This version of the forebears of Pius V is related at length in the *Acta Sanctorum,* in *Die Quarta Maji,* p. 623, and is repeated by the Comte de Falloux in his *Histoire de Saint Pie V.*

because he was born on that saint's day[2] (January 17), in the year 1504, during the pontificate of the great humanist Pope, Julius II, and under the reign of Maximilian I, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

The shepherd's life, led in his boyhood by the future Pope, is conducive to reflection and meditation upon the wonders of God's creation. He scanned the heavens for the first threatening signs of storm from which he must protect his flock and recognized God's handiwork in the tiniest leaf and blade and flower amid whose clumps his head was buried to doze under a noon-day sun. In the soul of this sensitive growing lad God indeed seemed very near and the desire to dedicate his life to His service found early expression. This grew ever stronger with the passing years. In the secret of his heart the Divine Master spoke to him and claimed him for His own. And the child responded as the little Samuel had done when he answered, "Here am I!" In his unsullied mind Antony interpreted the summons as a command to be about his Father's business.

But his parents were too poor to listen to the voice of their son's yearning to enter a monastery and become a monk. Help came, however, through a more prosperous neighbor who was placing his own son, Francesco, under the tutelage of the Dominican friars at Bosco and generously made provision for Antony to accompany him. Signor Bastone was to Antony a messenger of God.

Together the two boys entered the school of friars to receive instruction. Here for two years Antony lived happily. From the meager descriptions extant of this silent other-worldly boy we gather that at the time he

[2] St. Antony, first of Abbots. He instituted monastic life in common. He was a friend of St. Athanasius, and like him defended the dogma of the Divinity of Christ against Arianism. He died in 356 at the age of 105.

was tall for his age, slight of build, with clear-cut refined features and a frank countenance with "luminous eyes" from which shone native intelligence and an ardent nature. When he was fourteen his teachers, convinced of his vocation, sincere dedication, and native abilities, sent him on to the Dominican Convent of Voghera.

Here he laid the foundation of that habit of devotion and study which never forsook him. At this tender age piety and learning had become the ruling passions of his life. For the greater glory of God he applied himself to a rigorous routine with a fervor in his conventual exercises amazing even to his teachers. Study to this young brother was never an end in itself. It was a means to an end, a tool to be used in the service of the Most High.

From Voghera Antony went to the Convent of Vigevano to begin his novitiate. It was here in May of 1520 that he received his Dominican habit. The next year, when he was seventeen,[3] the Fathers permitted him to make his Profession.[4] This was the occasion when he assumed his religious name and he chose that of the Archangel Michael.[5]

"By what name will you be called?" he was asked.

"Michele del Bosco," was his prompt reply. But as the town of his birth was so little known, the provincial decided that he should be named "Fra Michele dell'Alessandria."

Although young in years, it was not long before he

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[3] The Council of Trent, which was to decree against such an early profession, had not as yet convened.

[4] In his Convent of Vigevano this item can be found in the Profession-book: *"Frater Michael Ghislierius, Alesandrinus, de terrâ Bosco, die 18, Maii, 1521 fecit Solemnem Professionem in manibus P. Fr. Jocobini de Viglevano nomine conventus Vogheriensis."*

[5] Throughout his life his allegiance to Saint Michael, whom he had taken as his patron, was the object of his especial devotion.

came to be looked up to by his elders as their model. His excellence in philosophy brought a demand that he teach, and this he did with such clarity and inspiration that his classes became crowded. In prayer he saw a powerful means of acquiring knowledge and always urged his pupils never to omit their pious devotions. "The more the spirit unites itself with God in divine intercourse," he insisted, "the more it becomes capable of enriching itself and the more it illuminates learning."

Fra Michele's success as an instructor of philosophy resulted in the further demand for a course in theology taught by him. His meekness and modesty, his utter self-forgetfulness and enthusiasm for his subject gave him a fame for sanctity which in those days was esteemed in a teacher as highly as the imparting of informative knowledge and the gift of pedagogy. Scholars came from far and wide to attend his lectures, crowding his classroom, and counting themselves privileged to be under this master who as yet was scarcely twenty years of age!

After a period of scientific training at Bologna, Fra Michele went to Genoa, where the order of the priesthood was to be conferred upon him. For this he devoutly prepared himself by an extended retreat spent in recollection and ardent dedication. He was twenty-four when raised to the sacred priesthood.

During all the years since his departure from Bosco, at the age of fourteen, he had not seen his parents nor his childhood home. Now, at the insistence of his superiors, the young priest returned to visit his family. His absolute severance of all human relationships, and the lack of communications in those remote days had left him in total ignorance of what awaited him upon his return to his native town.

Approaching the village afoot, he looked in vain for

the little spire of the ancient church. In place of the edifice where his baby lips had first lisped the prayer to the Virgin which his mother had taught him he now found a mass of ruins. Only in recent months war and its attendant devastation had destroyed the building, while the villagers themselves had fled in terror before the troops of Francis I as they marched through Bosco on their way to Pavia.[6] His own parents, he learned, had joined the refugees. After listening to the tale of their exodus, related by some straggler who had remained behind, Fra Michele continued on his journey until he arrived at the little town[7] where his parents had taken refuge. Here he offered the Holy Sacrifice and gave the Consecrated Host to his father and mother in the village church. This sacred reunion may have been the last contact he ever had with his dear parents in this world. At least no further records are preserved upon this intimate subject.

There followed a long period of seven years when Fra Michele of Alessandria lectured in philosophy and theology in the Dominican convents of Fermo, Pavia, Ravenna, and Raggio. He was successively elected prior of the convents of Vigevano, Soncino, and Alba.[8] While he was prior he used to warn his Religious in frequent conferences to preserve their religious spirit intact when they must mix in the world for the salvation of souls. "You are the salt of the earth," he would remind them. "See to it that when you return to the world amid the whirlpools

[6] The sack of Rome by the Imperial troops had taken place in the previous year, 1527. The Battle of Pavia preceded Michele's return by a few weeks. Ten thousand dead were left on the field of Pavia, including half the fighting nobility of France who perished or were taken prisoner together with Francis I, by the Imperial army. The battle occurred on Charles V's twenty-fifth birthday.

[7] Variously spelled "Sesodia," "Sessadia," "Sezza," "Sezze."

[8] Ghislieri was an excellent business manager. Most of the convents he freed from debt.

of sin and temptation that you do not lose the savor of righteousness," or words to that effect.

Fra Michele's charity became a by-word in the neighborhood of the convents where he lived. He was ever ready at a moment's notice to assuage pain, to give advice, and to enter into every trial of those who applied for assistance at the convent gate. His hospitality was sometimes grossly abused and his patience sorely tried, but he met these trials with the prudence and charity and courage of a true son of Saint Dominic. Once, when he was prior of Alba, a band of marauding soldiers who were ravaging the countryside, pillaging and stealing food wherever they could find it, came to the convent gate threatening to batter down the doors. The brave prior came out to face the desperate, unpaid, hungry men, carefully locking the door behind him. His protestations shamed the lawless men who slunk away. The other instance was at his monastery gate when three hundred French soldiers came to demand food. His heart was so moved by their condition that he invited the pillagers to enter and become his guests. "Sit with us in the refectory; we will share with you what we ourselves have. Walk with us in the cloister. Accept the hospitality which a poor monastery can give, and save your souls from the guilt of murder and theft." The poor hardened creatures let fall their arms and followed this white-robbed friar into the cloister in submissive silence.

It was while he was at Pavia in 1543 that he was summoned to the Provincial Chapter of Parma to refute Lutheran heresies. His defense of the authority of the Holy See in a masterly thesis was so vigorous and able that his reputation went far beyond convent walls. He was sought after as confessor by notable personages — among others by the governor of Milan. This appointment

with his distinguished penitent meant a twenty-mile journey back and forth which he always made on foot. Northern Italy is cold and rainy in winter, yet this never deterred the good prior in what he deemed the performance of a duty.

In his arguments, Father Ghislieri had refuted thirty propositions of the Lutheran heresy which was spreading and was threatening to undermine the faith of even so unperverted a region as Catholic Italy. So skillful an adversary did he prove that, like Saint Basil, he might have earned the same proud title of *Ambidexter Armatus,* wielding as he did the sword of Saint Michael with both hands in defense of the Faith. The Lutherans found in him an antagonist thoroughly grounded in positive theology and a formidable foe who seemed to possess the strength of ten.

Owing to his renown as a champion of the Faith, he was made commissary of the Inquisition in the diocese of Pavia. To this responsible office he was appointed by Paul III in 1543, the year following the Pope's reconstitution of the Roman Inquisition. In a spirit of humble submission he accepted the office, prepared at all times to sacrifice his life in defense of the Faith, armed with the sword of the spirit and shielded in danger by the breastplate of righteousness.

In the capacity of commissary of the Inquisition, his zeal, tempered by circumspection and prudence when dealing with heretics, won him the title of "a second Saint Bernardine." His worst enemies never accused him of self-interest or of bigotry. His shining purity of motive, unremitting labor and devotion in the cause of preserving the Faith in Italy, and his personal humility and austerity, made him an ideal example to his brother Dominicans, over whom he had reluctantly accepted the dignity of

prior. More unwillingly still, he undertook the responsibilities of Definitor over the provincial chapter of Lombardy, an office second only to that of Provincial.

Even on his longest journeys, Fra Michele made it a practice to travel afoot, a habit not relinquished by him when he became Supreme Pontiff. Like Saint Francis, he was wedded to Lady Poverty. His familiar saying was that he loved poverty, but never dirt. Yet his love of cleanliness never interfered with his travel-stained missions. His favorite reading during this period was the lives of the saints, particularly the life of his spiritual Father and ideal, Saint Dominic, Fra Michele's model and exemplar. Never taking advantage of the dispensations granted to professors, he was scrupulously punctual in the chanting of his office, practising self-mortification most rigorously. So, too, he lent dignity to manual labor by conscientious application to domestic duties. Often he might be seen sweeping and mopping up the dormitories and performing the most menial tasks.

Although he would have greatly preferred to remain in his beloved convent, he undertook in the spirit of penance any post of danger to which he might be assigned as Inquisitor. Thus he was sent by the College of Cardinals to Como, a city in danger of becoming infected with Calvinistic doctrines because of its proximity to Switzerland. It was a thankless task, and one of extreme peril; for the office of Inquisitor was hated and feared like poison by the heretics. Yet those who came in contact with this particular inquisitor must doubtless have been amazed by his gentle humility, his prayerful patience, his fairness and native kindness which tempered, but did not blunt, his apostolic firmness. The wealth or influence of his opponents never swerved this servant of God from his duty, as he was above threats or bribes. He was in

God's hands. Whatever his Master willed was the will of this saintly Dominican. Thus, when prior of Alba, he was opposed by a certain Count della Trinità, who declared he would throw the prior down a well.

"Whatever God pleases will be done," was the placid response reported to have been given by him.

The many miles he traversed on his arduous journeys as Inquisitor, from town to town, from city to city, from province to province, examining relapsed Catholics who had become intrigued with the new-fangled doctrines, pleading and reproving, testing and exhorting, will probably never be known. His coming and going was without fanfare and in secret. He was just another mendicant, indistinguishable under his cowl from other traveling friars along the dusty roadside. Little did he know what his errands would portend.

His experience at Como in the year 1550 was a case in point. Ghislieri was then a mature man of forty-six, disciplined by years of austere living, tested as in a crucible of fire. Acting in the spirit of St. Paul at Ephesus, when the great Apostle admonished the people against the worship of the goddess Diana; and, like St. Benedict, when he demolished the shrines of Apollo at Monte Cassino, this Dominican friar confiscated twelve bales of heretical books. Like the vendors of the statues of the goddess in Ephesus, whose lucrative trade was threatened by the preaching of Christianity, the booksellers of Como found themselves in danger of losing their income. But one book merchant in particular, whose property had been confiscated, appealed to the vicar capitular who was a friend of his and who evidently was more politician than saint. In consequence the vicar lent his ear to the merchant. Undeterred by this, Ghislieri, as Inquisitor, referred the case to the Roman Inquisition with the result that all parties in-

volved were excommunicated. This served as an example and a warning to the faithful to put them on guard against disseminators of poisonous propaganda.

Undoubtedly, to modern minds, such a procedure seems high-handed and oppressive.[9] But, in passing judgment upon such drastic measures, we must bear in mind the temper and spirit of the times. We must remember that most of the countries of Europe were still preponderately Catholic. Any offense against the Church was acknowledged by Catholics as an offense against the State. The mediaeval conception which held that whatever tended to undermine authority in the Church, threatened likewise the peace and prosperity of the State,[10] still prevailed in Europe among Catholic rulers.

If there had been a popular slogan in those days, it might have taken the form, "To make Europe safe for Christianity." When the Inquisitor denounced a person as a heretic, according to the Church's interpretation of the term, the accused was given an exhaustive trial, with every chance to repent. If now he continued recalcitrant he was handed over to the State, which imposed the penalty for violation of the laws of the State. We must remember, too, that the age of which we are dealing was

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[9] "It is no more and no less tolerant for an Inquisitor to suppress purely theoretical pamphlets against the Faith, than it is intolerant to suppress picture post cards that are thought injurious to morals." Robert Hugh Benson in his Preface to *St. Pius V* by C. M. Antony.

"If our modern methods of government are right, on our modern premises that society must be protected even to the pain of the individual, sixteenth century methods of government also are right, *on the same premises*. . . . It was as a careful and conscientious administrator of this system that Michele Ghislieri held the Office of Inquisitor." *Ibid.*

[10] This mediaeval conception, carried into the sixteenth century, is ably presented by A. L. Maycock in his book, *The Inquisition,* when he says "to attack the Church was to attack the European commonwealth, to strike at the very foundation of society," and "to strike at the Church was to strike at the hub of everything."

an age of force and violence. Modern historians, many of them non-Catholic,[11] are making a saner and more trustworthy appraisal of the Inquisition than was made in the days when accounts of lurid tortures were too often invented by biased writers who did not scruple to lay on with heavy brush the weirdest and most fantastic creations of their own imaginations as authentic historical data.

This, however, is not a justification of the state procedure which, from our more humane point of view,[12] was often cruel and un-Christian. But it is an attempt to form a sane and just judgment of an institution which in spirit was not unlike our own defense organizations in dealing with enemy aliens and "Fifth Columnists" and spies in wartime. Intelligent Catholic rulers, like Emperor Charles V with his clear, far-reaching vision, were aware not only of the constant threat of war to their own states, but were armed also against the disunity of the Faith[13] which portended the destruction of the civilization their fathers had builded and which they themselves

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[11] Like H. Nickerson in *The Inquisition,* and A. S. Turberville in *Mediaeval Heresy and the Inquisition.*

[12] Are we really so much more humane? In England, during the eighteenth century, burning alive was the punishment inflicted by the law of the land on a wife guilty of the murder of her husband. Clipping of the King's coin was punishable by boiling in oil in Charles II's time. Charles Dickens has immortalized the horrors of the debtors' prisons in *Little Dorrit;* and even within the memory of living men, the tortures inflicted upon an Irish Republican lad, Kevin Barry by name, by pulling out his finger and toenails, then breaking his fingers one by one, before he was hanged, seem incredible if they were not vouched for by those who prayed on their knees in the public square of Dublin in front of Mount Joy prison, during the Black-and-Tan persecutions. The boy died a martyr to free Ireland, stoutly refusing to inform against his associates.

[13] Although the Inquisition was old, very old, when it was revived in 1542 at the advice of Cardinals Carafa and Alvarez and by Paul III, to meet the unique conditions which Luther's Revolt had caused, the basis of its justification was the same as at the time of St. Dominic three and a half centuries earlier.

were trying to preserve; for Europe was then being held like a fortress against the ever-present danger of attack by Islam and the further dismemberment of Christendom by the heretics who had already wrought such havoc in the Christian commonwealth.

Censorship was never questioned as the undisputed right of the papacy and the Holy See. Censorship is, moreover, a right and a duty never relinquished by the Catholic Church, and is frequently invoked by modern governments against obscenity. Two hundred years after Inquisitor Michele Ghislieri confiscated the books in Como, another Pius, the sixth to bear the name, inveighed against the silence his warning against bad books had received among the French prelates when, in stinging words, he castigated the French encyclopedists whose writings had conditioned the people for the Revolution and Terror which was to create such frightful chaos in Europe. For revolution does not spring full armed, like Athene from the brain of Zeus. It is nurtured by propaganda during a long period of gestation before its poisonous brood of destruction rear their hydra-heads. Pius VI attacked the fallacious doctrine that a man may believe and disseminate whatsoever views he pleases; that his actions, but not his opinions, are the concern of society. With devastating logic he shows the absurdity of such a "liberal" interpretation of doctrine and belief.[14]

Michele Ghislieri, as a devout son of Saint Dominic, was influenced by the purest of motives and the most

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[14] See pp. 21, 22 of *Their Name Is Pius* by the author for a refutation of a theory which was to become so popular among the "liberals" during the French Revolution and which was to persist even down to our own day. Only yesterday in Chicago two youths in their teens, guilty of rape, justified their criminal acts in court, speaking glibly of "split personalities," and citing the writings of such pseudo-philosophers as John Dewey and Nietzsche as their teachers!

disinterested considerations of Dominican duty when he undertook the crucial tasks imposed upon him as a watchdog of the Faithful[15] against the heresies of his day. He was following in the footsteps of his spiritual forebears when he placed himself at the disposal of the papacy. During the thirteenth century the Albigensian heresy, so utterly anti-social and weirdly destructive, had caused the rise of the Monastic Inquisition which was sanctioned and confirmed by the Pope in an attempt to regulate the machinery of the secular rulers (who in turn had replaced lynch law with a code based upon the rediscovered Roman law). So now, in the sixteenth century, it was the Dominican Ghislieri who was entrusted to perform the equally difficult task of rescuing Europe from the snares of Lutheranism and its offshoots. Like his thirteenth century brothers of the spirit, he was altogether free from private revenge and uninfluenced by the flatteries and enticements of powerful men. No threats held for Fra Michele any terrors. He was dead to the world.

In the case of the book dealers at Como a test was made of the Inquisitor's authority not only to confiscate the books in question, but also to excommunicate the individuals concerned. The Dominican friar was stoned by the mob and the governor of Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, aligned himself with his foes and threatened him with imprisonment, forcing Ghislieri to appeal to Rome for confirmation of the authority to act as he had done. Under cover of night he escaped on a mule from assassins

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[15] In the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence there is a marvelous fresco in the Spanish Chapel representing the Church Militant. The two earthly powers, temporal and spiritual, are depicted in the figures of the Emperor, Henry VII and of the Pope, Benedict XI. At the feet of the Pope are the sheep, representing the Faithful; and, watching over them are the Watchdogs, painted in black and white, symbolizing the Dominicans' habits. Saint Dominic is pointing to the watchdogs.

who lay in wait to kill him, and rode the whole distance to the Eternal City. Arriving late on Christmas Eve of the year 1549, he proceeded to the monastery of his Order, Santa Sabina on the Aventine, and applied for lodging. He had sent no notice of his coming, and the prior of Santa Sabina did not know the stranger and asked his mission somewhat querulously.

"Did you come to Rome to present yourself to the cardinals in the hope of being elected Pope?"[16] he was asked.

"I come in the interests of the Church. I shall return as soon as I am directed how to act. I ask only a few days of hospitality for myself and my poor worn-out mule."

The weary apostle was given the cell next to that which Saint Dominic had occupied three and a half centuries earlier. This was the first visit to the monastery which as Pope he was to love and upon which he was to bestow so many favors.

When he reported the case of the Como episode, his course of action met with wholehearted support by the Holy Office; and the College of Cardinals sent him back to his perilous duties with every confidence in his wisdom in dealing with such baffling problems. He was cautioned, however, to lay aside his Dominican habit and to travel incognito in lay clothes; but this he stoutly refused to do, saying: "I accepted death with my commission. I cannot die in a holier cause."

In the spring of the following year Father Michele was sent to Rome to judge a case of considerable importance to the peace and security of the Church. It had to do with the election of the Bishop of Coire in the Grisons

[16] Paul III had died on the tenth of November. The cardinals were still in conclave. Cardinal Pole was almost elected on this occasion. It was not until February the seventh that Julius III was elected.

(the easternmost canton in Switzerland). Two rival candidates were hotly promoted for the bishopric. They were the Canons Salici and Pianti, the latter of whom had the reputation of leading a very lax life and was charged with gaining a majority of votes by the use of bribery. He was accused of heresy also. Journeying through the very district where recently he had almost been assassinated, and well aware he was surrounded by heretics in the Grisons, the stout-hearted Dominican, wearing his habit and cowl, traveled through Lombardy armed with his pilgrim staff and his breviary and the invisible sword of the spirit, inspiring such respect even from his enemies that he was unmolested and reached Coire where he passed judgment, publicly condemning Pianti and installing Salici as Bishop.

After this, Ghislieri was made Inquisitor of Bergamo, a lovely old town near Como. A heretic named Medolago, who was an *avvocado* and openly preached Lutheranism, had up to now been protected by his great influence and immense wealth. Since he felt himself immune, he would not desist from his propaganda. Fra Michele took the only course open to him. He seized the lawyer and had him thrust into prison. After his trial he was condemned and sent into exile to Venice where he died.

Another case at the same city of Bergamo had to do with no less important a personage than the Bishop himself, Vittorio Soranzo, who had secretly espoused the Lutheran doctrines. Returning to Rome to report on the Medolago case, Ghislieri was immediately sent back to Bergamo by Julius III to investigate the Bishop in whose possession were many cases of heretical books from which he and his numerous heretical friends were preaching. The Bishop appealed to the Senate for protection when he realized he was being watched. On the night of December the fifth, 1550, the monastery of Santo Stefano

was surrounded by assassins. Being warned of the danger to his life, the good Father went into the church and prayed; then he gave the case to a Franciscan friar, Fra Aurelio Griani, instructing him to bring the papers to a place designated. Walking quietly through the courtyard, Fra Michele opened the gate and escaped unnoticed. Losing his way in the darkness of the night, he sought and obtained shelter in a peasant's hut; and the next morning he met Fra Aurelio at the appointed spot, took from him the process, and journeyed to Rome with his evidence. Handing these papers to the College of Cardinals, the holy office acted at once, seized and imprisoned the Bishop in Sant'Angelo where he was convicted and deposed and exiled to Venice.[17] He died in Venice in 1558.

The next year, 1551,[18] the Dominican Father Tropaeus, commissary-general of the Inquisition, died. He had held the office for nine years. Then it was that Cardinal Carafa[19] recommended to the pontiff the name of Father Michele, who, he said, was "a servant of God, worthy of the highest honors and eminently fitted for the greatest dignities." At the time, Father Ghislieri was living at the Convent of Santa Sabina.[20]

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[17] When it is remembered in what bad repute renegade Catholics placed the Church, how they misrepresented Catholicism while enjoying the privileges and receiving the emoluments of the Holy See, it is understandable why the Church acted so rigorously against the heretics.

[18] The year the Council was removed from Bologna and reassembled at Trent where the sittings were held until the sixteenth session.

[19] Later Paul IV.

[20] In this place he was later to make his yearly retreats when he became Pontiff, and here today still remain the relics and venerated memories of Pius V. The old Convent-church dates from the time of St. Celestine I in the fifth century. Gregory IX restored the church in the thirteenth century. Here also may be seen the cell of Pius V on the staircase leading to the cell of Saint Dominic. This very beautiful church of simple and majestic dignity, superbly set upon the Aventine, commands glorious views of St. Peter's and of Rome.

In his new capacity of commissary-general, Father Michele visited the prisons to claim back, if possible, the inmates who had apostatized. He went from cell to cell, trying with Christ-like tenderness to win back to the Church the relapsed heretics. When he was successful he begged the prisoner's prayers for himself, invited him to his table to dine with him, and in every way tried to soften the severity of his lot.

On one such prison mission he examined a case which throws strong light upon the character of this patient, gentle Inquisitor. It is that related of a young Jew who had become a convert to the Faith and had entered the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor. He was an eloquent preacher for some time until he came under the influence of the new doctrines promulgated by the Lutherans, and was himself infected by them. Though still a friar, he was tried and imprisoned. Very soon he retracted and was released and restored to his Order. But a second time he was convicted, and the state penalty was death by fire. One day, while walking through the prison, Father Ghislieri was struck by the aspect of utter woe written on the youthful face. He went to the prisoner, and in all kindness asked the unhappy man to confide in him and treat him as his friend. After much coaxing, the prisoner finally told his name and his history, but refused to renounce his errors. Then the saint began a veritable campaign, besieging heaven's portals for the young friar's soul. He fasted, doubled his prayers, daily offered the sacrifice of the Mass for his charge, visited him regularly, and treated him with the most tender sympathy. Finally, in an ecstasy of gratitude, the saint saw his faith and importunities to the Fount of Grace rewarded. Bursting into tears, the young friar repented and asked that he might devote his life to continual penance. Ghislieri took the case to the

Pope[21] and obtained pardon for the prisoner, who forthwith abjured his heresy, confessed to his mediator, and from his lips received absolution. The penitent refused to return to the Order he had disgraced; and so, with fatherly solicitude, the Dominican saint received him into the Order of Preachers, dressing him in his own habit and adopting him as his spiritual son. This is the history of the relapsed heretic who later became known as the celebrated Biblical scholar, Sixtus of Siena.[22]

Father Ghislieri's zeal in his office of commissary-general was untiring and, to him more than to anyone else, is due Italy's preservation from heresy. He had frequent contact in his new office with Cardinal Marcello Cervini[23] who had taken a prominent part in the discussions of Trent over which he presided; and who, after the death of Julius III, was elected pontiff on the tenth of April, 1555, taking the name of Marcellus II.[24] After a reign of only twenty-two days he died, and was succeeded by Father Michele's friend and patron, Cardinal Carafa. The latter took the name of Paul IV. The new Pope lost no time in appointing the Dominican (whom he confirmed in his office of commissary-general) Bishop of Sutri and Nepi[25]

[21] The Pope was the last court of appeal for a relapsed heretic. Many *Moriscos* and *Conversos* (converted Moors and Jews in Spain) appealed to Rome after the state had convicted them of a second offense, and often with success.

[22] His *Bibliotheca Sancta* is dedicated to Pius V in which he asks: "Where could I find a more powerful protector than yourself who snatched me from the gates of Hell? Never could I relate all your benefits. To no one on earth do I owe what I owe to you."

[23] The saintly uncle of St. Robert Bellarmine, the great defender of the Church, whose learned work *Disputationes de Controversis Christianae Fidei Adversus Hujus Temporis Haereticos* in three volumes contains the best arguments for Catholic tenets.

[24] The friend and patron of Palestrina, to whom the composer dedicated his great Mass.

[25] On the Via Flaminia. In 1563 the two sees were united into one. In the episcopal palace of Sutri the door through which Ghislieri used to

in 1556 (which see he subsequently left for Mondovì in Piedmont), at the same time seeing to it that this indefatigable laborer in the Lord's vineyard should not be removed from his Inquisitorial duties by making him Prefect of the Palace of the Inquisition.

Although, as always, Ghislieri fought against such dignities, Paul IV said he would "chain him to his new offices" so that he could not return to his beloved convent. In keeping with this papal resolve, this humble Dominican, who never sought advancement, who shunned every appointment as if it were a temptation, was given the Red Hat on March the fifteenth, 1557; and the following year, on December the fourteenth, he was appointed Grand Inquisitor of the Roman Church.

His titular church was Santa Maria sopra Minerva,[26] which he exchanged for his convent-church at Santa Sabina on the Aventine three years later. Cardinal Alessandrino, as he was now called, acted as a brake to the rash and over-zealous recommendations of his subordinates in dealing with Paul IV's campaign against heretical books. He wanted everything sifted thoroughly, and desired to be quite sure that there should be no infringement of the just rights of those concerned. In the case of the famous Carranza affair, which we shall discuss later, he was at odds with the pontiff who was daily becoming more morose and gloomy as he viewed the European scene, beholding on his deathbed what must have seemed

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pass has been walled up so that no one should use it any more. The episcopal archives at Nepi were destroyed during the French occupation. In the episcopal palace nothing but a picture of Pius V (in prayer before a crucifix) tells of the former occupant of the see. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* Vol. XVII, p. 49.

[26] Originally a Greek church occupied by the monks of Saint Basil. It was presented to the Dominicans by Gregory IX, and is the burial place of Saint Catherine of Siena. Here also Fra Angelico, who was a Dominican, is buried, having died in the adjoining monastery.

to this rigorous, well-intentioned man the utter disillusionment of all his hopes and dreams. For Pope Paul IV, while a great reformer, did not prove to be a great ruler.[27] He was holy and sincere, most energetic and businesslike in the performance of his duties; but his zeal as a reformer did not take into account the three hundred years and more that had elapsed since the days of the Dominican struggle against the Albigenses. While his Bull against nepotism was of the very essence of wise reform, yet he himself was betrayed by his own nephew, Cardinal Carafa, to whom he had given the Red Hat; and whom, too late, he banished from Rome for extortion, and who finally was the cause of the war against Spain (1557–'58) which so adversely affected the cause of Catholicism in western Europe. It was due to this unfortunate war that Mary Tudor's reign ended so disastrously, the Netherlands was estranged, and intercourse with the Pope almost ceased in England, Flanders, and Spain. When the Peace of Paris was concluded in 1559, the year of Paul IV's mournful departure from this earth, all these evils became evident; for England had fallen away, heresy became rampant in the Netherlands, and the Holy See had almost no influence in these countries. Hence the pitiful words of Paul IV on his deathbed: "How I regret the past!" But, although the dying pontiff did not seem to be aware of it, the Catholic reaction had already begun. There had arisen new foundations; i.e., the Capuchins and the Theatines. The Dominican watchdogs and the brave sons of the mighty Saint Ignatius were acting as the strong defense of the Church and the papacy. Then, too, the number of truly great men among the cardinals had increased lending new glory and power to the Sacred College.

[27] Cardinal Carafa was in his eightieth year when he was elected to the papacy. He reigned four and a half years.

About this time, Cardinal Alessandrino was plagued with a serious illness which caused him severe suffering, often excruciating in the extreme, which lasted as long as he lived. The cardinal was advised by his doctors to take the baths of Lucca for his ailment; but he obtained very little relief from his treatments. Giving up the idea of being cured of his malady, he concentrated upon his ecclesiastical duties, visiting his entire diocese in Piedmont. This tour brought him once more to his old home of Bosco. He had not seen the village since 1528, over thirty years before. While there, he laid the foundation for a large Dominican convent as a thank offering to God. His parents were dead; and from Bosco the cardinal-bishop went on to Vigevano where some of his old schoolfellows welcomed him. From Vigevano he passed on to Milan, and thence to Rome, where he arrived in November of 1560.

When Paul IV died and was succeeded by the Medicean Pius IV, Cardinal Alessandrino's position became very trying and almost unbearable; for the new pontiff was more a man of this world than were his immediate predecessors or those who were to be his successors. The good cardinal felt that his hands were tied; and he was irked by the limitations set upon his authority as Grand Inquisitor. Being, as he felt, out of favor with the pontiff, the idea of returning to his bishopric of Mondovì (to which Pius IV had transferred him in 1560) to complete the reforms he had begun there, recurred to his perplexed mind and chastened spirit.

More than once Cardinal Alessandrino felt obliged, for conscience' sake, to oppose the policies of Pius IV. It must have cost him great anguish thus openly to chide the pontiff; for his devotion to the representative of Peter was exceeded only by his holy zeal for the dignity and

purity of Christ's Church. Yet how unsullied his motives! Here was none of the pride and self-love and arrogance of a "reformer" of Luther's stripe! Rather there was the same devotion to duty which the Dominican sister, Saint Catherine of Siena, had displayed more than three centuries earlier, when she exhorted the pontiff to return from Avignon to the Eternal City where Peter had bathed the sands with his blood, and where his followers had sanctified the spot of his martyrdom in a long line of succession – to a Rome languishing for her pontiff, as a bride bereft of her bridegroom.

When Pius IV wished to enhance the prestige of the Holy See in France by recalling his legate, Cardinal Farnese, and by sending in his stead the French Cardinal De Bourbon, the good Cardinal Alessandrino, realizing that the heretics in France would interpret the move as a concession in their favor, once again opposed the pontiff. And when Emperor Maximilian II attempted to appease the "reformers" in his Holy Roman Empire by permitting priests who had broken their vows to marry, and thus be reinstated in the good graces of the Holy See, Alessandrino cried out: "Do not evil that good may come!" His arguments were so cogent, and his holy passion against the scandal so intense, that in consequence Pius IV wrote Maximilian that the discipline of the Church could not be modified for the sake of a few men whose lives needed correction. Still again, as a good soldier of Saint Michael, with all his eloquence, Alessandrino rebuked the Pope for planning to settle upon his nephew, a brother-in-law of San Carlo, 100,000 ducats out of the funds of the Sacred College. He declared that Church property could not be diverted to the laity.

Because of these repeated instances, he voluntarily withdrew from the consistory, declaring in sorrowful hu-

mility: "I can always take refuge in my monastery if I may not speak the truth in consistory."

The cardinal's illness did not leave him; and certainly he did not foresee his own elevation to the throne of Peter; for during the year 1564 he made preparations for his burial place in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. He lived at the Borgo in a house which he had bought and in which he hoped to reside until his death, when it should pass on to his relatives.[28]

Though Pius IV (1560–1566) had not proved sympathetic to Cardinal Alessandrino, in justice to his pontificate we must record that it was through him that the Council of Trent was brought to a successful conclusion. He confirmed the decrees of the entire council on January 25, 1564, and published *The Profession of the Tridentine Faith,* which was a summary of doctrine which has come to be known as the *Creed of Pope Pius.* This profession set the standard of Catholic Faith and Practice.[29] The decrees covered the *disciplinary decrees* regarding episcopal duties, religious Orders, the education of the priesthood, and the censorship of books. *Doctrinal decrees* were issued on the Mass, purgatory, the veneration of the saints, and the doctrine of indulgences.

The termination of the Council of Trent was followed in two years by the death of Pius IV and the election of Cardinal Alessandrino which we have outlined. In following Michele Ghislieri's career as pontiff of Christendom we shall note how little the supreme dignity af-

[28] "Il Papa ha comprata la casa, nella quale stava quando era cardinale et dice voler che la sua morte sara dei suoi parenti." Pastor, quoting Urb. 1040, p. 363b, Vatican Library.

[29] Under Pius IX, two definitions were added; the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception (defined December 8, 1854) and the Definition of the Infallibility of the Pope at the Vatican Council. See pp. 211–222 of *Their Name Is Pius* by the author for a full description of the Vatican Council proceedings.

fected the character of the Dominican. Instead of surrendering his monastic predilections, he introduced them into the Vatican, until it was truly maintained by friend and foe alike that the domain over which he reigned became one vast monastery.

Here was a man, humble of heart, shrinking from every promotion, animated by the keenest sense of responsibility, yet rising step by step, owing to his own intrinsic worth and in spite of himself as it were, from the meanest poverty and the most obscure origin, to the highest honors which the Church could bestow! There is an undeviating consistency in his character, from the time when as a mere lad he had tended his father's sheep in the fields of Bosco, or when as novice he applied himself with unstinted devotion to the most menial tasks in the dormitory of his convent. He was the same self-effacing being in the crowded classroom, where he taught philosophy and theology in the convents of his Order, as when he was offering Mass as a priest of God; or when, as Defender of the Faith and Inquisitor, he essayed the most thankless and disagreeable duties; or again when as bishop and cardinal he promoted learning and founded a university; until now, at last, as Supreme Pontiff of Christendom, he was to undertake a terrifying labor of almost superhuman responsibility. His character crystallized into something compact, disciplined through years of unremitting sacrifice to the triumph of a cause to which as a child he had dedicated himself. That cause was Christ and His Church and the preservation of the Faith in Italy and in Europe. It was nothing less than the most urgent and most pressing need of his day. Michele of Alessandria was thus one of the best equipped men of his time to meet the needs of an age which cried aloud for reform and reconstruction. God had raised him up to wield the

Sword of Saint Michael in defense of his Church. For this task he had prepared himself by first conquering himself and by a steadfast faith that never wavered nor lost sight of its motivating drive. This he possessed in the Christ whom he venerated and adored.

Only to those who have studied the countenances of old monks in the older and stricter Orders[30] can such a face and figure as Michele Ghislieri's present itself in its full austere beauty and significance. There is in it a stillness and a peace so other-worldly and sublime that all one's standards of worldly beauty undergo a change. Here is a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Truly there is no beauty in him such as this world has eyes for! But after one has fathomed such an achievement as is written in every lineament of his prematurely aging face, how saccharin and empty the conventional types become! How trivial! For here is something so awesome, something so lofty, that it rises above normal standards as a mountain rises above the foothills!

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[30] In the year 1931 the author visited with an artist friend the Carthusian Convent at Certosa (where Pius VI and Pius VII had been held in captivity by the Directory under Napoleon). The artist stood spellbound, gazing into the face of one of the Brothers who acted as our guide. "What would I not give to paint that face!" he exclaimed in a whisper.

The markedly ascetic traits of Pius V's features are clearly shown in his medals, especially that of Giovanni Antonio Rossi. There is a beautiful cameo of the head of Pius V in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican. Tiepolo states in 1566 that the new Pope stands out in contrast to the dead Pius IV *in luminoso contrasto e meravigliosa richezza*. Rome is rich in likenesses of Saint Pius. (Pastor, Vol. XVII, p. 52.)

3

THE RULER OF CHRISTENDOM

NO CARDINAL ever ascended the throne of Peter who was more weighed down with the responsibilities of his commanding office than was Cardinal Alessandrino. He had coveted above all else to pass the remaining days of his life in the solitude and peace of his beloved convent. Deep sighs shook his frame when after his election he retired to his closet to pray. Yet, such was his reliance and trust in the goodness of God's mercy to fortify his own weakness, it is said that after the excitement was over and he had taken to his bed, this Servant of the servants of God slept the quiet and undisturbed sleep of a little child for twelve hours for the first time in his life.

The coronation of Pius V took place January the seventeenth, 1566, on his sixty-second birthday,[1] the feast of his name-saint, Antony. It was witnessed by the Roman populace in an outdoor ceremony performed by Cardinals Rovere and Del Monte in front of St. Peter's upon a high tribune especially erected and decorated for the occasion. Enthusiastic outbursts of *Viva papa Pio Quinto!* resounded throughout the piazza. The ceremony lasted until nightfall, after which the cardinals went to the coronation banquet in the apartments of Innocent VIII.

[1] At the same age the coronation of his successor and namesake, Pius XII, took place.

It was noted that the Pope ate as little as if he were in his own convent refectory. The reports from Rome declared in substance that "Pius V has shown himself to be a true Vicar of Christ. God grant that he may long be spared!" The customary scattering of alms in the piazza was dispensed with, as during the coronation ceremonies of Pius IV persons in the crowd had been crushed to death. Instead Pius V sent large sums to the poor and to needy religious houses.

Ten days after his coronation the new pontiff took possession of the Lateran. On his way the Romans demonstrated their love for him with more spontaneous enthusiasm than had been shown during any of the ten previous pontificates. As he passed the Gesù Pius saw St. Francis Borgia, third general of the Order of the Society of Jesus, standing at the church door waiting to receive the papal benediction. Pius stopped and conversed for a quarter of an hour with his fellow saint. During the procession the Pope also caught sight of his old schoolmate, Francesco Bastone, standing in the crowd. He had come from Alessandria to witness the event. Pius stopped again and spoke with his old friend and neighbor, and out of gratitude to the man's father who had sent him to the friars' school in Bosco with his own son, the Pope appointed his old friend keeper of Castel Sant'Angelo.

By this appointment Rome became aware from what a humble origin this Pontiff of Christendom had arisen. Ambassador Cusano wrote in a diplomatic letter to Vienna that it was a marvelous thing to think that this man who had tended his father's flocks was now Shepherd of Christendom.

At once this saintly pontiff set on foot a complete change in his household. His hours of rising and retiring were those of the monks among whom he had spent so

many years of his life. So far as was consistent with his position he adhered to his Dominican regime, wearing his rough shirt under his pontifical robes. His soutane was the same creamy white which the pontiffs since his day have worn. His Mass began at dawn, followed by prayers and meditation. Every day of his pontificate he recited the Rosary to which he had an especial devotion, so that some writers have called him "The Pope of the Rosary," although he might with equal felicity be designated "The Pope of the Crucifix," for his intense love of our crucified Lord was such that in most of his pictures he is shown gazing on this symbol of Christ's suffering and sacrifice for humanity. His table was most abstemious and it was his belief that if one ate as little as would sustain life it was possible to labor hard for long hours during the trying scirocco[2] when most Romans of means are accustomed to go into the mountains to escape from the oppressive heat.

All his biographers mention his suffering from "stone," which was so acute at times that he almost starved himself by living on asses' milk, a diet which brought him some relief. Yet his health for some time after his election showed considerable improvement, and was a disappointment to those who had hoped that this rigorous Pontiff, who made no concessions to anyone — least of all to himself! — would be removed from his position of authority by sudden death. Sinners trembled when they saw him participate in processions on foot during Holy Week, visiting the seven basilicas of Rome, a practice which he and St. Philip Neri revived after its discontinuance under the Renaissance popes. The Romans became accustomed to seeing their pontiff go to the Lateran or to

[2] The sultry desert wind from Africa which crosses the Mediterranean and hangs like a pall over Rome.

Santa Maria sopra Minerva to preach sermons there, as well as at St. Peter's. During the forty days of Lent he went to Santa Sabina's, the convent of his own Order on the Aventine, for which he had an especial fondness. And such is the influence of example in the Head, that before long all the members of the Sacred College and the other prelates began to make the long processions on foot. During the Feast of Corpus Christi this devout and holy Pope again broke the tradition of the Renaissance popes who had been carried in a litter through the streets, wearing the tiara. This monkish-pontiff walked uncovered in the most intense heat, passing through the flower-bedecked Borgo. His recollection and the compassion written on his tear-stained face is spoken of by visiting ambassadors to Rome. De Requesens wrote home to Spain that the Church had not had so saintly a Pope in three hundred years. Galeazzo Cusano, who was often caustic in his criticism, declared Pius V a worthy successor of St. Peter. Even so Protestant a source as Francis Bacon makes allusion to Pius V with the greatest respect, referring to "that excellent Pope Pius Quintus whom I wonder his successors have not declared a saint."[3] And Granvelle,[4] so coolly critical a diplomat, gave as his considered opinion that "the Pope appears to me every day more holy."[5]

Pius V took literally his Master's injunction, "Be ye therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect." Pastor tells us that "Pius V was almost entirely free from passions," and in this respect "he stood out in strong con-

[3] *Of a Holy War* in his Works, ed. 1838, 1, 523.

[4] Spanish cardinal and former Prime Minister to Margaret of Parma in the Netherlands.

[5] In a letter dated March 10, 1566. Three years later B. Pia wrote: *"Dio benedetto sia lodato che dadegnò di voler sotto questo papa aiutar la sua navicella nel più tempestoso mare,"* Gonzaga Archives in Mantua, quoted by Pastor.

trast to all other men." As a consequence he expected much of others, although he tried to reassure those with whom he had to deal: "I know very well that I am dealing with men, not with angels." Because he himself could not abide flattery nor insincerity, and because he hated lies, he sought adverse criticism of himself from his intimates, and he frequently was distrustful of the motives of those who praised him.

As an administrator Pius V often created the impression that he could not take a practical point of view of actual conditions. He was a confirmed idealist. His one concern was the salvation of souls and to this he subordinated all other considerations.

When, on January the twelfth, 1566, he addressed the cardinals in consistory, he spoke to them kindly and told them he would not treat them as his servants, but as his brethren. Yet he qualified that statement with the sharp and unvarnished assertion that the evil life led by many ecclesiastics had played no small part in the beginning and spread of heresy. He left the cardinals in no doubt that the luxurious habits of princely living which had been encouraged by the Renaissance popes could find no favor with him; and he enjoined upon them the example of simplicity and even of poverty. "You are the salt of the earth!" he exclaimed. "You are the light of the world! See to it that the people are edified by your example, by the purity of your lives, by the moderation of your conduct, and the brilliance of your holiness! God does not ask of you mere ordinary virtue. He demands downright perfection!"

He promised them his friendship and favor on condition that they reformed themselves and their households, but he told them they must not seek any prerogatives from him for their relatives – a prohibition he placed

upon his own kin. The sole exception was a nephew, Bonelli, whom he made cardinal and who proved himself worthy and useful, but whose authority he limited.

In this same allocution he declared it his undeviating purpose to carry out to the letter the decrees of the Council of Trent. He outlined a three-point program for himself which was: the maintenance of peace among Christian princes, the extirpation of heresy as far as possible, and the obtaining of help against the Turks who were an ever-present menace to Christian civilization in Europe.

Toward all of his former Dominican brothers, as well as to the Theatines and Jesuits, he showed impartial independence, and asked all the friars to return to their monasteries, telling them that when needed he would send for them. To Arco, ambassador of Maximilian II, he promised help against the Turks, but told him frankly to warn his monarch not to expect any concessions to apostates.

Pius V instituted a policy of economy; and to this end he disbanded his light cavalry, keeping only two companies. He would have liked to dispense with all his troops. His arms were the invisible sword of Saint Michael and the Holy Scriptures; and his protectors were the sons of Saint Dominic.

The rulers of his dominions were exhorted to practise impartial justice; and the appointments he made in the various departments were personally supervised by himself. Public morals became vastly improved in Rome under Pius V. Although his methods of banishing prostitutes and usurers, and of punishing men for sins of the flesh were often subject to criticism, it was generally admitted that the Eternal City became visibly purer and a more fitting abode for the center and head of Christendom. Visitors were impressed by the improvement in civic life. Blasphemy was no longer heard on the streets; brigands

and pirates disappeared as if by magic. It became safe to go abroad by night in Rome. A German nobleman who had come to Rome[6] only three months after Pius V's election, found during Lent such piety and devotion that he declared:

"As long as I live I shall bear witness . . . that I saw in Rome the most marvelous works of penitence and piety. . . . But nothing can astonish me under such a Pope. His fasts, his humility, his innocence, his holiness, his zeal for the Faith shine so brilliantly that he seems a second St. Leo, or St. Gregory the Great. . . . I do not hesitate to say that had Calvin himself been raised from the tomb on Easter Day, and seen this holy Pope . . . in spite of himself he would have recognized and venerated the true representative of Jesus Christ!"

The strictness of the new laws was sadly needed; and their drastic enforcement was, to say the least, most effective. Some of them seem puritanical to modern minds; but the salutary results, after the laxity of the Renaissance, justified their application. Within a month the bishops returned to their sees. The severest strictures were passed against the practice of simony, which were especially needed in France where benefices and even bishoprics were bought and sold. Religious houses also were strictly reformed.[7] Enclosure was imposed upon all con-

[6] April 9, 1566, *Histoire de Saint Pie V,* par Le Comte de Falloux, p. 127.

[7] Many practices of religious Orders were abolished or amended by the Council of Trent. This did not apply to the Dominicans, the Franciscans or the Augustinians, which Orders had actively participated in the carrying through of reforms during the sessions of the Council. Pius saw nothing to reform in his own Order of Preachers. They had preserved intact, for four hundred years, their primitive spirit. Modern historians, from documentary evidence, verify Pius V's verdict; and declare that this spirit was magnified during the centuries since Saint Dominic. To the Dominican Order Pius gave full credit for whatever he had become: "from which Order we ourselves, although unworthy, have drawn all our strength as from a fountain."

vents; the only exemption was "in case of fire, leprosy, or pestilence." This was in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, which was confirmed by Pius V in two bulls during the first year of his pontificate. The Catechism of the Council of Trent was drawn up under Pius V in September, 1566. It was translated into German, French, Italian, and Polish. The Pope himself revised the Breviary, which was published in July, 1568; and the revised Missal was ready for use two years later.

The music of the Church received especial attention. The ancient Gregorian plain chant was restored to its former splendor. Church music had become profanely operatic; and people came to church to hear a concert. The Council of Trent had decreed against such music. But what should take its place? Could music be admitted to divine service, or should it be banished altogether? The decision was doubtful. But the genius who should settle the question once and for all was living in Italy; and he was to save for Catholic worship one of the Church's mightiest handmaids.

Among the Roman composers of that day was Pier-Luigi Palestrina. Living a retired life among the vine-yards of Monte Celio, he devoted his days to his art with complete self-forgetfulness and singleness of purpose. While here, he composed his glorious *Improperia,*[8] which is still sung on Good Friday in the Sistine Chapel. In this mighty work, the composer weds the music to the words, bringing out in all its sublime beauty the profound significance of the Scriptural text. Its execution is a religious experience of the deepest meaning.

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[8] The reproaches of Christ to His people: "O my people! what have I done to thee, or in what have I grieved thee? Answer me. Because I brought thee out of the land of Egypt; thou hast prepared a cross for thy Saviour," etc.

The year before Pius V's accession to the Chair of Peter, his predecessor, Pius IV, held a commission on the subject of Church music; and to this Pope is due the glory of bidding Palestrina compose three Masses, for the purpose of ascertaining if it was possible to combine beautiful music with real heartfelt devotion. Conscious as he was that the life or death of the grand music of the Mass depended upon his efforts, the composer worked under the severest tension and called upon God to help him.[9] His *Mass of Pope Marcellus II* was the result of three undertakings. All expectations were surpassed! Full of simple melody, it yet contains rich variety. Choruses separate and blend. The sublime meaning of the words of the Scriptural text is emphasized a thousandfold. The *Kyrie* is all submission; the *Agnus Dei* is all humility; and the *Credo* is all majesty.

Even so Protestant a writer as von Ranke abandons all restraint when he attempts to express in words the sublimity of this divine music.

> A path was opened. . . . Works the most beautiful and most touching, even to those who are not of the *Romish*[10] faith (!), have been produced. Who can listen to them without enthusiasm? Nature herself seems to have acquired voice and utterance; it is as if the elements spoke; and the tones breathing through universal life, poured forth in blended harmony of adoration; now undulating, like the waves of the sea; now rising in songs of triumph to the skies. Amidst the consenting sympathies of creation, the soul is borne upward to the region of religious enchantment.

If the mighty music could evoke such an expression of self-abandoned praise from so alien a mind, what can be

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[9] The words *Missa Papae Marcelli II* are still legible, written in trembling hand by the composer upon the original manuscript; and the reverent appeal to God: *"Deum, in adjutorium meum intende!"* follows.

[10] Italics the author's. Why this fly in the ointment?

said of the appeal of this masterpiece of achievement to the faithful? Small wonder that the Pope was so moved upon hearing this glorious Mass that he exclaimed: "This must be the New Song which John the Apostle heard in the Celestial City!" As a result of this composition, the Pope named the great genius "Master of the Papal Court and Choir."

To give a complete list of the reforms of Pius V an entire volume would scarcely suffice.[11] When we remember that his pontificate lasted only six short years, and that foreign affairs in England, Scotland, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Poland were constantly demanding his consideration, that the Turks and the heretics were menacing the survival of the unity of Christian Europe, one is amazed at the Herculean labors of this indefatigable aged pontiff; for, according to modern physical standards, Pius V was an old man when he became Pope. Certainly he looked twenty years older than his age.

If sinners trembled, the saints were jubilant as they witnessed the edifying example of Pius V and the purifying of civic life in the papal domain. They saw in him the patriarchal majesty of the Hebrew prophets from whose penetrating eyes no sins could be hid. Like the old Biblical seers, he inveighed against wickedness in high places; and men of good will recognized in him the Sword of Saint Michael, his namesake and protector, who should "drive into hell Satan and the other evil spirits who wander through the world seeking the ruin of souls." In him the Church Militant had once again found a leader. God had raised him up for no other purpose. That he was a saint was evident as he went about doing good, washing

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[11] Truly to appraise the reforms of Pius V, it would be necessary to study the eighty volumes of his correspondence, which are preserved in the Vatican Library!

the feet of the poor, embracing lepers, and visiting the afflicted. Holy men of influence in the Church, like St. Charles Borromeo and St. Francis Borgia, the third general of the sons of St. Ignatius, and St. Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory, had reason to rejoice.

4

LUTHER AND HIS WORKS

THE immediate provocation of Pius V's tremendous battle against heresy in Europe was the apostasy of an Augustinian monk who was to achieve world fame as a mighty force, like that of an avalanche or a volcanic explosion, shaking Christendom almost to its foundations. An indirect cause was, of course, the abuses of the Renaissance popes, as all Catholic historians acknowledge. Luther himself was, in fact, a product of the Renaissance, as he demonstrated only too well after he had thrown off the restraints of his monastic austerities. His life was given over to excesses: first, in the scourgings he inflicted on his own rebellious flesh; then, after his "emancipation," in letting loose the floodgates of his lustful nature. Wyndham Lewis and J. Maritain and Havelock Ellis have given unprejudiced appraisals in their thoughtful studies of this German peasant, turned monk to escape from the cruel father who begot him; and finally turned against all the most sacred authority to which he was pledged.

The convenient doctrine of "Justification by Faith" found pleasing lodgment in his theology, and became the chief tenet of his new-found freedom. His passion for indulgence in the flesh and his unrivaled capacity for lying (which is so characteristic of the children of the

Renaissance) amounted almost to madness, and was condoned by his doctrine of "Justification." It is said that his *Table Talk* is unprintable and is available only in expurgated editions — except for medical study. But enough is available to form an honest estimate of the essential man. He is one of the most unpleasant figures in history.

Yet Luther was undoubtedly a great man, according to our modern standards. He was "great" like any destroyer who achieves world changes by sheer force of personality. Even the most satanic of forces must be subjected to analysis by the historian. In the light of truth, one must acknowledge that, in prostituting Christianity, Luther, like his logical successor, Hitler, was a genius. His translation of the Bible into the vernacular — by no means the first — is a literary masterpiece of the first magnitude. His fine sense of effective language and poetic beauty reveal a sensitiveness that belies the ultimate grossness of his aspect. He seemed to be a dual personality at war with himself and with the world. For the shafts of his wrath were not limited to the papacy, but were aimed equally at those numerous sects which were the logical outcome of his teaching of personal interpretation of the Bible. For now, any mind of original force, however biased by crazy quirks, could form a new sect and claim followers.[1] And upon no "papists" did Luther vomit his gall more freely than upon the Anabaptists, the Calvinists, and the Sacramentarians of his day. As for the Jews, he hated them with an ardor scarcely equaled by Nazi German leaders today. The Church and the Mass, which existed before the Gospels were written,

[1] Thus today, in Los Angeles alone, there are said to be over two hundred sects holding forth!

were no authority; but he, Luther, was![2] Like his spiritual descendants in New England who came to the New World to escape the despotism of the Church of England, Luther became the most illogical of "reformers" when it came to persecuting those who opposed *him!*

For he saw in his own lifetime to what lengths his teaching of individual interpretation of Scripture could go. In Münster, Westphalia, in 1534, the entire populace became obsessed by what Dr. Johnson once called a "crazy piety." Two Anabaptist preachers, a baker from Haarlem who was posing as the reincarnated "Prophet Enoch" (later he called himself "Moses"), and a tailor from Leyden who was self-styled "The Son of David, Ruler of All the Earth," were ministers of the new religion which proclaimed Münster "The New Jerusalem." These insane men possessed that familiarity with Scripture which seems to characterize religious maniacs who wrest texts from anywhere in the Bible to bolster up their folly. They used their uncanny eloquence to sway the frenzied mob who became drunk with their blasphemies. As if hypnotized, the people adored these crazed fanatics even when they committed murder. Probably never since the degradation of the Eleusinian Mysteries in Greece's decadent days, nor of the Saturnalia in the days of Rome's decline, has a whole community succumbed to such orgies of mass bestialities. Their followers gave up their wealth to these prophets of unrighteousness, who, in the name of religion, were preaching and practising the most filthy

[2] "Luther's self becomes practically the center of gravity of everything, especially in the spiritual order." — J. Maritain.

". . . He made himself the universal man in whom all should find their model. Let us make no bones about it, he puts himself in the place of Jesus Christ." — Moehler.

"I do not admit that my doctrine can be judged by anyone, even by the angels. He who does not receive my doctrine cannot be saved." So Luther writes in June, 1522, *Sämtliche Werke,* Erlanger Edition.

animalism. Those few who remained sane in Münster were listed for death. Before the Bishops of Cologne and Trier sent troops to quell the madness, the frightful extremes to which the people went had caused Luther to threaten and curse. Münster was in a state of siege; and, although their Anabaptist brethren from the Lowlands came to their aid, and the walls were fortified with tombstones and altars torn from the desecrated churches, the Prophet "Moses" was taken captive and dispatched by the *Landsknechte,* upon whose heads the mob had poured quicklime and flaming pitch, and who now wrecked vengeance upon the "Lord's Prophets." So foul were the orgies that the German Lutherans reinforced the Bishops' army. Thus ended the Anabaptist revolution in Münster! Luther, in his fury, drove out all the Anabaptists from Wittenberg.

Pius V was forty-two years old when Luther died. Although he never saw him in the flesh, Pius dogged his footsteps like the faithful Dominican watchdog he was. He combated his theology at Parma; and as Inquisitor he fought the fruits of his teaching at Como, in the Grisons, at Bergamo; and when he was Pontiff he fought with every ounce of his indomitable courage to dispel the shadow of Luther which hung like a miasma over all Europe, and to restore the seamless garment of the Church which Luther had rent asunder.

Even in his own lifetime, Luther's insistence upon individual interpretation of the Christian Scriptures was bearing its logical fruit as Ronsard so ironically demonstrated in his *Apostrophe* to Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva. After citing the numerous sects, among which he lists some that no longer exist, he sums up the scandal to Christendom in these cogent words: "In short, Luther, once in the first place, has been driven out of it by new

arrivals and is now nearly last; while his sect, once so numerous, is now the least of nine in Germany!" And his doctrine that faith alone saves and that man is exempt from good works as a means of salvation, was followed by the perfectly logical conclusion arrived at by Johannes Agricola that if good works do not assist individual salvation, evil deeds do not hinder it — a conclusion which Luther himself seemed also to hold when he wrote to his friend Jerome Weber: "Oh, if I could only discover some really good sin to give the Devil a toss!" and his equally well-known *"Pecca fortiter!"*[3] in his letter to Melanchthon which, while it is not an injunction to sin, is easily so interpreted by his weak-minded followers. The natural consequence of such teaching was that Christians began to feel that they need not be bound by any law. Calvin, with that clarity of reasoning so characteristic of the French mind, deduced from Luther's doctrine the frightful doctrine of predestination: the elect have been predestined for salvation, and the damned are predestined for hell and the wrath of God, who is the ruthless murderer of His children. It is no wonder that insanity and suicide were prevalent all over Europe among those who were subjected to such perversions!

All these novel and revolutionary theological ideas were diametrically opposed to Catholic teaching which had never been seriously questioned; namely, that there exists on earth an unchanging Authority which Christ had sanctioned and appointed, and that His visible Church is the Mystical Body of Christ. When the barriers to erring

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[3] *"Esto peccator et pecca fortiter, sed fortius fide et gaude in Christo"* is literally translated: "Be a sinner, sin strongly, believe yet more strongly, and rejoice in Christ."

". . . he sets up as a doctrine what had first been nothing but the sin of an individual; he places the center of his religious life not in God, but in man." — J. Maritain in *Three Reformers,* p. 11.

mankind were torn down there was a veritable epidemic of vice from which even children were not exempt, mental disorders were prevalent, and suicide was a daily occurrence in Germany.[4] More than once Luther was in utter despair. Such incurable sadness fell upon the people who were deprived of the consolation of Mass which, according to Melanchthon, "nothing could tear from their hearts," that Luther felt obliged to invent novelties of worship which he hoped would suffice. Many outward forms were observed, such as the elevation of the Host and the Chalice, but which, without the consecration, were meaningless and filched from the ceremony its very *raison d'être.* Thus were the people deprived of the heavenly bread Christ gave to men, while in Germany and in England they witnessed Church property delivered into the hands of rapacious nobles.

It is the considered opinion of many writers of this period that if the Jesuits had been mobilized a century earlier this so-called "Reformation" would have been only a hideous memory and just another passing heresy. For, contrary to general opinion, the people were *not* yearning for a change of religion! This idea is as false as many another misconception which by repetition becomes official and is finally accepted without question. The people were loyal to their religion, in spite of the laxity of their clergy. It was the politicians and the powerful nobles who were keen for a change which would redound to their avarice. Melanchthon declares: "All the waters of the Elbe cannot supply enough tears to weep over the disasters of the reform." And even Luther himself, in a moment

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[4] Baumgartner, who made a thorough study of this period, writes: "We hear, alas, daily, that either in full health, or in the hour of their agony, people fall into despair, lose their reason, and some at least, go so far as to kill themselves."

of clarity, declares he is frightened by the flood of sin and woe he has unleashed.

"I am compelled to confess it, my doctrine has produced many scandals. Yea, I cannot deny it, these things often terrify me; above all when my conscience reminds me that I have destroyed the present state of the Church, so calm and peaceable under the Papacy. . . . The nobles and peasants have begun to live comformably with their beliefs; they are swine, they think like swine, they die like swine. . . . It is an incontestable experience that we preachers are now more contemptible, more idle, than we ever were under the shadow of the Papistry."[5]

As early as 1518 the reigning Pontiff Leo X had sent his nuncio Cardinal Cajetan, general of the Dominicans, to interview Luther. The meeting between the distinguished cardinal and "the little Monk" took place at Augsburg, in the banker Fugger's palace. In these gorgeous apartments, whose walls were frescoed by Italian artists and by a pupil of Dürer's, the two men, as far apart as the antipodes, met. All the account that has been made public for the general reader is that of Luther's; but as late as 1912, M. Duchesne, director of the French School of Archeology at Rome, placed into the hands of M. Ferdinand Bac the correspondence and confidential reports of several pontifical legates sent to fight heresy in countries where it flourished. Among these priceless records are those dealing with the meetings between Luther and Cardinal Cajetan. There is little resemblance between this report and Luther's! The *dossier* makes lively reading. One can recreate the scenes. Both are seated: the boorish German peasant, blustering and explosive; the coolly critical cardinal with narrowed eyelids studying the

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[5] *Opera Luther,* Edition Witt, II, 281, 387.

phenomenon before him. He allows the apostate monk full rein. The cardinal, the essence of cultured breeding, Italian quick-wittedness, and sure poise, is the perfect example of a papal nuncio – impassive, tactful, aloof, and thoughtful.

A torrential avalanche of abusive language booms forth from the throat of the German friar. Like lava from an active volcano, he pours out his vindictive denunciations. In his dispatch to Rome, the weary cardinal sums up his impressions in three words: *"Quant'una bestia!"*[6] Finally he leaves for the Eternal City. Bac writes: ". . . he orders his baggage to be prepared early one morning and orders his crimson litter; and through the silent streets of the town, which is hardly yet awake, he sets forth precipitately and takes the high road to Rome without disturbing anyone; very, very gently, *piano, pianissimo*."[7] At the time of this episode, Pius V was only seventeen years old, and was probably aware of this German monk against whom he was to fight so vigorously the rest of his life.

The Medici Pope Leo X was followed by the saintly Fleming Adrian VI, who, if he had lived longer, would have proven a mighty opponent of the Lutheran heresy. As it was, he called upon the Council of Regency to enforce the *Diet of Worms,* proclaimed a year earlier, but which had not been enforced because of the increasing popularity of Luther. This council was dissolved by the Diet, since it had failed to bring about order. Clement VII, who had succeeded Adrian VI, backed by Emperor Charles V, created a new Council of Regency which in turn demanded a general council to be called at Spires to deal with religious questions in Germany. But Clement VII was no Hildebrand nor even a statesman. He fluctu-

[6] "What a beast!"

[7] Quoted from Wyndham Lewis's *Charles V.*

ated between Charles V, who had a clear vision of the needs of the times, and Francis I of France who was interested only in his personal prestige and amusement.

Meantime the Peasants' War broke out in terrific fury. The revolt began in the Black Forest in May of 1524, but within a few months it had spread all over Germany. The grievances of the peasants were very real and terrible. Luther's attitude toward these suffering poor is strangely contradictory when one remembers that he came from the same ranks as they. While he rebuked the princes and lords who oppressed the peasants, he became so thoroughly terrified that he issued a pamphlet, *Against the Murderous Robber-Hordes of Peasants,* in which he exhorts the nobles to punish the rebels without mercy. Said he in his letter to the nobles:

> My good lords, succor the poor, have pity on their misery! But everywhere else punish, prod, strike! Let who can, strangle the wolves and blackguardly rascals! . . . It is not only princes and magistrates who should make an end of them. Every honest man has the right to be judge and executioner of such scoundrels and to slay them as one would slay a mad dog!

It is undeniably true that Luther's sermons were in large part the cause of the Peasants' Uprising. By his pamphlet from which we have quoted, Luther lost his hold over the poorer classes. Henceforth his appeal was to the princes and nobles. Then began in Germany the dogma of the supremacy of princes over the Church, or that curious anomaly, the state-church, which the late Pontiff Pius XI has so aptly described as "anemic," and which is characterized by ". . . torpor . . . attachment to, or enslavement by earthly powers, and the consequent sterility that comes to every branch that separates itself from the living vine of the Church."

Until Luther's appearance on the scene, there had been

no challenge so formidable as his brand of heresy, with the sole exceptions, perhaps, of the Arian at an early period, and of the Albigensian in the thirteenth century. The latter was localized to southern France and Italy. This sect held a doctrine so perverse that suicide was considered a very special form of saintliness, and childbirth was condemned as demoniac. This insanity had been dealt with by Pius V's spiritual forebears, the Dominicans of the period, and even by Saint Dominic himself.

At Spires the Diet was called in 1526. It was Charles V's hope that at this Diet a demand for a general council would ensue. But little was accomplished of a constructive nature, although another session was held in 1529. At this second session the Lutherans protested against the Zwinglian innovations in Germany, and by their protest earned the name of "Protestant" for the Lutheran movement; a protest which, however, the Diet and the emperor rejected. Then the Lutherans met to offer armed resistance, which was delayed pending the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1530. From this convention came the *Confession of Augsburg.*

A change had come over Luther and his followers. He had toned down the violence of his earlier days. The Peasants' Revolt had terrified him; and now that he was supporting the princes so wholeheartedly, he was no longer quite so irritating and displeasing. Moreover, the milder Melanchthon had gained in influence; and it was he who presented the hazy official declaration of the Lutherans. No one who was familiar with the clarity which had always characterized official Catholic definitions, to which for fifteen hundred years Europe had been accustomed, could make head or tail out of the declaration. After reading it, nobody knew exactly what "Justification" implied, nor whether honor should or should not be paid

to the saints, whether or not papal authority was lawful, and so forth. Indeed, it appeared as if it was against Zwingli, and not against the Pope of Rome, that the statements were aimed. Only regarding the marriage of the clergy and the granting of the Chalice to the laity were the statements clear and unequivocal. Melanchthon had paid tribute to Charles V's courtesy and patience during the protracted and tiresome theological discussions.

Yet Charles V was not deceived. He understood there could be no compromise on such fundamental questions in matters of faith as the Divine origin of the Church of Christ. The Diet empowered Charles to put the Edict of Worms into effect and to give the Protestants ten months to subscribe to its provisions or to settle the issue on the battlefield. The result of this threatened enforcement of the edict was the formation by the Protestants of the *League of Schmalkalde*.[8] Luther renounced his recently proclaimed "passive obedience" once more; and Philip of Hesse and John of Saxony took command of the armed Protestant forces. In the meantime Luther's formidable opponent, Zwingli, died on the field of battle at Zurich in the fall of 1531. Deprived thus of his rival, Luther and his followers joined Charles V against the Turkish menace in Hungary. Charles and Ferdinand, with an army of Italians, Spaniards, Germans, and Flemings, drove Suleyman II out of Europe. The price Charles paid for Lutheran help against the common foe of Christianity was the tolerance of the Augsburg Confession! The next year the *Peace of Nuremberg* was concluded between Charles V and the Protestants.

For the next three years a truce between the Catholics and the Lutherans was in force, which was broken in 1534,

[8] In 1531, when the Protestant princes allied themselves with France and England.

after the madness of Münster which we have described. In the following year Charles freed twenty-two thousand Christian slaves who were held by the pirate Barbarossa in Tunis. At the time of the Münster revolution, Pius V was thirty years old and was still preparing himself as a soldier of Christ by a monastic discipline which was to shape him into the tempered sword of Saint Michael, the Invincible Weapon of the Church Militant, effectively to combat in Italy the identical anti-Catholic and anti-social forces which were overrunning so much of Europe.

At long last the general council of the Church was called at Trent in the Tyrol, in 1545, during the pontificate of Paul III, and after holding sessions at Bologna, it returned to Trent to close there in the pontificate of Pius IV, three years prior to the accession of Pius V to the papacy.

Luther spent his last years (he died in 1546 at the age of sixty-three) in quarrelsome debate with his friends, a fat, repulsive, diseased old man, whose utterances are carefully preserved, among them the assertion that "When I am dead, you will see yet more bloodshed and terrors," a prophecy that was tragically fulfilled.

But the work of the Council of Trent saved southern Germany for the Church where, even today, the populace is strongly Catholic and where the genial artistic fruits of Catholic culture are in marked contrast to the Prussian Protestant militaristic spirit in northern and western Germany. The *Peace of Augsburg* was a treaty by which, after forty years of conflict with Protestantism, the state-church was definitely established and protected, and the Lutheran princes, who had profited so much by the wealth they had filched from the Church, were allowed to keep their loot. This "Peace of Augsburg" (1555) is called by Protestant historians the "birth of religious freedom." The

fruits of this "freedom" the world is reaping today! Anyone who can unsnarl the tangled threads of cause and effect finds a direct and unfaltering connection between the apostate German monk, Martin Luther, and the present totalitarian Nazi leader, Adolph Hitler, although the führer would be the first to repudiate his spiritual ancestor who, by challenging the spiritual and temporal authority of the papacy, weakened the sole power on earth which could call a halt to the aggression of overambitious rulers, and the military might of greedy monarchs or dictators which, since Luther's day, has constantly expanded until it has become global in scope, and is a terrifying threat to the very survival of the white race.

When Pius V was elevated to the throne of Peter, one of the first congratulatory letters he received (dated January twenty-fourth and sent by a special messenger to His Holiness) was from Maximilian II,[9] son of Ferdinand and nephew of Charles V. His submission to the pontiff was a protestation of filial obedience. The emperor affirmed that nothing should be wanting on his part in all that was due to Pius, and that "those services which are to be looked for from the protector and defender of the Church" shall never be neglected; but that all shall be done that shall redound "for the advantage and welfare of Christendom." These smooth and subtle words did not put the Pope off guard, for he knew that Maximilian wanted to prevent Cardinal Commendone's mission as legate to the Diet of Augsburg which, in 1566, was reconvened after an interim of eleven years.

Certainly Commendone was the one man who was best

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[9] It must be remembered that what was called "Germany" at the time with which we are dealing, was a hodgepodge of small states under petty rulers. These were incorporated in the Empire in a loose confederation under the Emperor Maximilian II, whose seat of goverment was in Vienna.

fitted to represent the Holy See at the emperor's court. By training and by personal experience he knew conditions in Germany, both ecclesiastical and political, and he was a friend of the House of Hapsburg and was keenly aware how essential it was to maintain amicable relations between the Pope and the emperor. Commendone was one of those papal legates, like Castagna at the court of Spain, and like Consalvi under Pius VII, who have justly earned for themselves unstinted praise, both for their distinguished qualities of intellect and character, and for their utter devotion to duty and strict ecclesiastical views, all of which historians have never questioned. In the light of world publicity these men have won high praise even from their enemies, and have emerged unscathed at the hands of unfriendly critics.

No one knew better with whom he had to deal when he was sent to Germany by Pius V than did the cardinal-legate himself. For he, as well as the pontiff, was aware of the emperor's penchant for shifty diplomacy, and of his indifference and confusion regarding religious matters. Even more than his cousin, Philip II of Spain, Maximilian II was motivated by an indecisive compromising policy which, unlike his royal cousin's, was uninhibited by any genuine devotion to Catholicism. Commendone sympathized with Pius V's problem, for he understood how unsullied and forthright the new Pope's aims were. To Pius V the sole redemption for Europe was a return to the Church Christ had founded; to Maximilian II, who wanted reconciliation between the opposing doctrines before everything else, a compromise seemed not only desirable, but feasible. He wished above everything to put an end to the disputes which were dividing his states. Therefore he tried to initiate a policy of conciliating the Catholics without offending the Protestants. He thought

he was following in Charles V's footsteps, but he lacked Charles' vision and his profound Catholicity. Besides, times had changed since Charles had left the scene of action. The promulgation of the Council of Trent had changed the face of religious Europe. Since the council had definitely put its stamp of approval upon the challenged doctrines and the schism had become more deeply rooted and more widely diffused, it was becoming daily more futile and dangerous to the maintenance of a united Europe to prolong the compromise. Although Maximilian was not a man of profound intellect, he nevertheless sensed that Pius V would be a hard pontiff to deal with; yet, because of the Turkish menace, he desired to be on good terms with him.

Not a week had passed after Pius V's election before he gave his full attention to the situation in the empire. He commissioned a congregation of nine cardinals,[10] all men thoroughly conversant with the German problem, who met with the Pope and heartily supported the appointment of Cardinal Commendone as papal legate to the Diet of Augsburg. Pius sent Maximilian a brief making the papal position quite clear; Commendone's instructions were to protect the decrees of the Council of Trent which were binding on all Catholics, and to see that no decisions should be made on any matters which were the prerogatives of the Apostolic See. Two days later (January twenty-fifth) the archbishops of Trêves and of Mayence received papal instructions to go to the Diet and protect the rights of the Holy See. Similar letters were sent to the entire German episcopate.

In spite of his dislike for the mission, Commendone left his legation in Poland and set out for the German city

[10] Morone, Farnese, Borromeo, Delfino, Galli, Sittich, Madruzzo, and Reumano.

at the papal command. He arrived at Augsburg on February twenty-seventh where he found Maximilian awaiting the arrival of the delegates, and he was received by the emperor in audience three days later. Commendone saw clearly the advantage he had over the emperor because of the Turkish menace and he used this weapon effectively as a whip to cause Maximilian to refrain from the discussion of a religious compromise when it was broached at the Diet on March twenty-third. The only discussion of a religious nature which was admitted was that relating to the despised sects which were a common grievance to both Catholics and Lutherans. Everybody knew this referred in particular to Calvinism which the emperor loathed. Ten days before the Diet was convened, Canonist Giovani Paolo Lancelloti had arrived at Augsburg to assist Commendone, together with Count Melchior Biglia who had served as nuncio to the imperial court six months earlier under Pius IV. Four famous Jesuits came as experts on ecclesiastical matters: Peter Canisius, Ledesma, Nadal, and the Englishman, Sanders.

Fortified thus with the best available minds, Commendone found his task considerably lightened at the Diet. A four-point program had been outlined by the congregation of the nine cardinals before he left Rome, which was to guide the papal-legate's action. These were: the exclusion of all religious discussion at the Diet, the publication and the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent, radical reform of ecclesiastical conditions in Germany, and the promotion of the league against the Turks. The reason religious discussions were prohibited was that the laity was not experienced in such matters, and it was outside their province. If the legate should be unsuccessful in urging the granting of the emperor's adherence of the Tridentine decrees, at least he was to urge their

publication in eight strategic cities,[11] and to bind the ecclesiastical princes to observe them.

It is remarkable to observe what perspicacity Pius V showed in his statesmanlike grasp of the needs in German ecclesiastical matters: bishops must make a personal visitation once a year at least for the promotion of Catholic literature and the establishment of Catholic universities, and to prevent the circulation of heretical books and pamphlets. To the end of achieving these desirable reforms, Commendone was to seek out the Catholic princes and the bishops, and by his courtesy and tact to enter into the closest relationship with them. This he did with the duke of Bavaria, Albert V, who was known as a devout Catholic, with the Spanish ambassador, and with the archbishop of Trêves.

Naturally the Protestants tried to get concessions in exchange for their help against the Turks. Yet, because they feared "the abominations and the idolatries of the papacy," the Lutherans who had called the Calvinists and all other rival sects "the work of the devil," presented with them a united front and pretended, as a matter of policy, to be united in faith with these despised offshoots of Protestantism. Like many an alliance in wartime since the sixteenth century, these united elements which secretly hated each other made strange bedfellows; and though they did not deceive each other, they sought to deceive their common enemy: the papacy, namely, and the Catholic world. Thus they demanded the convocation of a general assembly under the presidency of Emperor Maximilian. Until such a time as the national assembly could be convened, the free exercise of their religion should be guaranteed. By this arrangement they hoped

[11] Salzburg, Constance, Eichstadt, Augsburg, Freising, Passau, Brixen, and Trent.

to abolish the *reservatum* (which forced an ecclesiastical prince to forfeit his office and revenues if he embraced Lutheranism) and thus completely destroy Catholicism in the empire. News of all this reached Rome from the papal-legate and so disturbed Pius that he instructed Commendone that, if the emperor came out openly for the Confession of Augsburg, he was to leave the Diet forthwith, after entering a formal protest.

The Peace of Augsburg, which in 1555 had been rejected by the Calvinists as prejudicial to their sect, was ardently supported by the emperor and all the Lutheran princes (who feared that if it were broken they would lose some of their loot), and was condemned on principle by Pius V; yet Commendone saw clearly that under the circumstances, if it were abrogated, fresh dangers would ensue; and that nothing would please the Protestants more than to have the papal-legate leave the Diet and thus create an open breach with the emperor and the Catholic states as well.

In his dilemma, Commendone called upon the Jesuit advisers whom Pius V had provided for just such an emergency. It was Canisius especially who determined his policy, by declaring that the Peace of Augsburg was not in contradiction to the decrees of the Council of Trent, but was concerned purely with political affairs and not with dogma. The Jesuits called the Peace of 1555 "an expedient armistice"; which, indeed, the Holy See could not approve, yet could in conscience tolerate until more auspicious times. Canisius' views on the matter were shared by Cardinals Truchsees and Biglia and the Spanish ambassador, all of whom feared that if the Diet was dissolved and war was begun, Catholicism in Germany would cease to exist.

Beset by all these perplexing problems, Commendone

dispatched his auditor Caligari to Rome to give a verbal report and to ask for further instructions. After listening thoughtfully and prayerfully to the report, Pius V wisely left the decision to the judgment of his able lieutenants on the scene. He trusted the wisdom of his legate and of the Jesuits he had so carefully chosen to give their advice. Much of the credit for this triumph of wise diplomacy was due, not to Canisius alone, but also to Francis Borgia, general of the Jesuits, whom the Augsburg Jesuits had begged to come with his inspired counsel to their aid.

As a result of leaping this difficult stile, the Catholic states rejected *in toto* the memorial presented by the Protestants, declaring they intended to adhere to the terms of the religious peace of 1555. This matter settled, Commendone employed all his eloquence to obtain the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent. All those regarding worship and dogma were accepted by the Catholic states; a reservation was presented in regard to provincial synods. But, on the whole, the papal-legate had every reason to be gratified by his very considerable triumph; for when the Diet was dissolved on May thirtieth, there were no further demands for a national council, nor for religious freedom, and no mention was made of more conferences. This was the first Diet held for many years which was a distinct gain for the Catholics, who left Augsburg with high hopes. Pius V declared that his fondest expectations had been surpassed. But the experienced legate did not hand over the 50,000 scudi for the defense against the Turks until after the close of the Diet, when on July tenth, 1566, he set out for Rome.

Large sums, covering a period of three years, were contributed by the Diet for the conduct of the war against the Turks. These were augmented by a generous contribution from Philip II. As a consequence of these vast

supplies of the sinews of war, Maximilian II commanded in person a formidable force of sixty thousand men, gathered during the middle of August. The Turkish forces under the old Sultan Suleyman advanced to Sziget which, in spite of an heroic defense under Nicholas Zriny, fell into the hands of the attacking Turks. Zriny himself was killed in battle. Good fortune, however, was on the side of Maximilian and his brother Ferdinand, neither of whom had any knowledge of the art of war, and who committed one blunder after another. No real engagement with the enemy had taken place, nor any sortie on the part of the emperor, who was carefully avoiding contact with the enemy. In the meantime, fever and famine were decimating the Turkish ranks. At this crisis Suleyman suddenly died. His followers, who had had implicit faith in the victory promised by his soothsayers and court poets, were thrown into a state of panic. By February seventeenth, 1568, a peace was signed at Adrianople, effective for eight years, which continued the *status quo* with a yearly payment of thirty thousand ducats to the emperor.

The papal nuncio, Biglia, who had been overshadowed by the striking personality of Commendone at Augsburg, now came into his own, and gained influence at the court of the emperor. He achieved very considerable success and was able to report to Pius V about the measures the emperor was taking against preachers of Protestantism in Germany, as also about the royal edict against the Calvinists of Hungary and the rejection of help to the Netherland rebels, etc. Meanwhile Morone and Commendone were busily engaged at Rome in cultivating more amicable relations between the emperor and the Holy See. The Holy Father was so overjoyed by the unexpected favorable turn of events, that he generously granted concessions to the emperor. He overlooked the imperial interference

in the reform of monasteries and chapters in Austria; and he forgave Cardinal Delfino, favorite of the emperor, a serious breach of discipline.

Pius V contributed large sums for the fortification of the border states against the incursions of the Turks, and he allowed the emperor to levy a tax on the abbeys and monasteries of lower Austria for the same end. Even these sums were augmented by further amounts and by generous promises of future aid. To Maximilian's brother, Archduke Charles, he gave permission to collect ecclesiastical revenues in his territoy of Styria for five years, with the promise of a further extension of another five years.

In spite of all these liberal concessions on the Pope's part, Pius V was shocked to learn from Imperial Ambassador Arco that Maximilian was granting the Protestant nobles *carte blanche* for the practice of their religion in lower Austria, in keeping with the Confession of Augsburg of 1530. Certain limitations were, however, imposed upon the Protestants: such as, the prohibition of interference with the free practice of the Catholic religion. In other words, the emperor was trying to put into work his favorite policy of appeasing both religious parties in his domain; for, as he tried to explain to Biglia, he feared a revolution by the Protestants, similar to that in the Low Countries; and he declared that, for the sake of his six sons, he must preserve his empire intact.

When Pius realized what the emperor's policy implied; that is, the granting of a state-church within his empire, with all that such a course predicated for the further dismemberment of the unity of the faith, he complained to Arco that ruin would result to Europe from the bad example the emperor was setting France and the Netherlands; and he even strongly hinted that he might have to

break off relations with Maximilian. He wrote the emperor, begging him to abjure his decision, condemning in the strongest terms the concessions he had made, declaring them a scandal to Christendom. His letter was followed by urgent pleas from Cardinals Morone, Colonna, and Truchsees in the same vein. So seriously did the Pope feel about this matter that he sent by courier a detailed complaint to the emperor. And no sooner had the courier set out for Vienna than Pius hurriedly convened a consistory at which he again appointed Commendone as envoy-extraordinary to the emperor to beg him to reconsider the dangerous step he had taken.

The emperor in his anger at these events called Pius V's action "mad monkish zeal." He said the Pope was ill-informed, and declared that he would prove to the pontiff that his action had been prompted by the intention of bringing the Protestants back to the true faith! How ill-advised and contrary to fact the assertion was that Pius was not informed was well understood by the entire College of Cardinals. The fact of the matter was that Pius V was only too well informed! No one knew better than did he how grave the situation really was; for he realized only too clearly that what had been granted to the nobility of lower Austria could not be withheld from all the other provinces, and that this would spell the utter destruction of the Catholic religion in the empire.

Nothing could swerve the pontiff from sending Commendone to Austria. Once again, therefore, the Dominican, who was at his Abbey of Santo Zeno at Verona, set out to obey papal commands. The party, which consisted of Commendone and his secretary, Anton Maria Graziani, and Giovanni Delfino, the bishop of Torcello, was caught in a snowstorm at the Brenner Pass and delayed for three days at Innsbruck where Commendone met Albert V of

Bavaria with whom the legate discussed the entire situation, eliciting the sympathy of this true son of the Church. A further delay was caused by lack of shipping facilities; but on the sixteenth of October the party set out in boats on the River Inn, via Passau and Linz, to Vienna which they reached on the twenty-eighth. So ill was Biglia by the turn of events that he could not travel to Passau to meet the papal representatives as he had planned.

At the audience Maximilian granted to Commendone he justified his conduct of giving concessions to the Protestants by the specious plea that he hoped to prevent the further spread of rival Protestant sects, and to bring the Lutherans back into the Catholic fold; declaring it as his honest belief that the Confession of Augsburg was the providential means to that end. To which the papal-legate (after listening courteously and granting the emperor the benefit of a doubt by assuming his disinterested intentions) strongly protested that the ends Maximilian professed could never be effected by the unlawful means he was pursuing. It was not lawful to do evil that good might ensue. And he reminded Maximilian that Charles V and Ferdinand I had demonstrated how futile all their efforts were to effect a conciliation with the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg. They had learned to their sorrow that the followers of the new doctrines were never brought back to the true faith by concessions; but, on the contrary, were rather confirmed in their opposition. Furthermore, Commendone showed how dangerous was the boast of the Lutherans that they had bought religious freedom for money. The emperor must not assume a prerogative that belonged to the Pope alone; and if he persisted in his course he would bring down upon himself the wrath of a just God.

Commendone was reinforced in his position by two

rulers who shared his views: the archduke of Bavaria, Albert V, and the far more powerful Philip II of Spain, whose influence upon his cousin was naturally very weighty. These two rulers wrote forceful remonstrances to Maximilian, urging the emperor to refrain from the course he was pursuing with regard to the heretics, which was "in open defiance of God and religion." Since Maximilian was proposing the marriage of his daughter to the king of Spain, Philip had the whip hand and refused even to consider such an alliance so long as the emperor showed consideration to the Netherland rebels and to the Austrian Protestants. Furthermore, Commendone advised Maximilian that the Pope would never grant the dispensation necessary for this marriage so long as he continued to shower favors upon the enemies of the Church. In view of all these formidable weapons, Commendone was able to send on to Rome the complete submission of the emperor. So far as the Lowlands were concerned, the emperor was sincere; but as regards the Austrian Protestants, his submission was in appearance only. Maximilian's protestations as a true son of the Church were delivered in his customary vein of utter devotion to the Pope and the Catholic religion.

But, as it proved, the emperor had no intention of fulfilling his promises to the papal-legate. Even before the Diet was dissolved, he had actually promised the nobles they should not be disturbed in their adherence to the Confession of Augsburg; and, worse still, he extended the privilege to the Diet of Upper Austria, just as Pius V had foreseen he would do, and promised the Protestants they would not be disturbed so long as they did not overreach the limits imposed by the confession. The emperor further deceived Commendone in dismissing Camerarius who was engaged in drawing up a new ecclesiastical lit-

urgy and constitution. In reality Maximilian had acted to please the states to whom Camerarius was unacceptable, and had secretly installed in his stead the Lutheran theologian David Chytreus. At his hidden retreat at Spitz, Chytreus quietly drew up the constitution and the ecclesiastical liturgy.

In the papal brief, expressing joy that the emperor had complied with the wishes of the Holy See regarding any extension of the Confession of Augsburg, Pius V stressed the sanctity of the imperial promise and the sacred oath by which the emperor was bound. To which, even while he was protecting Chytreus in his hidden retirement, Maximilian II replied to the Holy Father in a letter of obsequious devotion, declaring that he would leave no stone unturned for the maintenance of the Catholic faith and the defense of the dignity of the Church. This double-dealing policy of the emperor made it imperative for him that Commendone should leave Vienna at the earliest possible moment before it should be discovered by the papal-legate.

En route from Vienna to Rome, Commendone made a visitation of the churches and convents in Austria, for which the emperor gave the legate the necessary facilities; and he carried out his mission with scrupulous care, concentrating especially upon the convents of Upper Austria, where, during the centuries of neglect, many abuses had crept in. The limitation of time at his disposal prevented the complete success of his labors.

Upon Commendone's departure from Vienna the nuncio Biglia resumed his duties. But Biglia was no Commendone. He lacked his clear understanding and forthright approach. His desire to maintain friendly relations with the emperor overshadowed everything else. He compromised where Commendone, who understood the papal

mind with which his own was in perfect accord, would have held out. As a result Maximilian II continued his evasive policy in regard to the states of Lower Austria, which, to a large degree violated the Imperial promises to Commendone. Pius was well aware of what was going on, and he felt so keenly about the emperor's double dealing that he frankly said he regretted the assistance he had given Maximilian against the Turks.

The breach between the pontiff and the emperor was aggravated by the crowning of Cosimo I as grand duke of Tuscany in August of 1569. For years this ambitious Medicean prince had tried to win promotion for his services to the papacy under Pius IV, who was indebted to him for many favors. Cosimo's ambitions were thwarted by Maximilian and Philip of Spain and had been temporarily frustrated by the death of Pius IV. But the tenacious Cosimo did not easily surrender his coveted dignity. He jealously demanded precedence over the duke of Ferrara, and nothing would appease him but the title that would automatically bring this about. Blocked in his scheme by the emperor, Cosimo turned to Pius V, who put the matter into the hands of a lawyer, Domenico Bonsi. The latter at once opened negotiations with Cosimo's agent, Onofrio Camaiani. But the French cardinals did not back Cosimo's cause, since Ferrara was preferred to Cosimo by them. However, the religious attitude of Ferrara was suspect by Pius, and rightly so. Ferrara's mother, Renée, was known to be a friend of Calvin. Ferrara had refused to give assistance to the French Catholics as the Pope had urged him to do, and his uncle was in ill-repute at the papal court, for it was known that Cardinal Ippolito d'Este craved the tiara. So strained was the relationship between the House of Este and the pontiff that a complete break was foreseen.

Not once had Cosimo's loyalty to the papacy been any-

thing but perfect. He had made no promises that he did not fulfill to the letter. He had assisted the emperor in the Turkish War, and had generously given help to French Catholics in the Third Huguenot War. For these favors and for his cooperation in handing over Carnesecchi to the Roman Inquisition when Pius V was Grand Inquisitor, the Pope naturally was kindly disposed to Cosimo, at the baptism of whose daughter, Johanna, he had acted as godfather. Therefore Pius V was predisposed to grant Cosimo's request with which his predecessor had intended to comply. If Charlemagne could receive the crown at the hands of the Pope, why could not Cosimo I also? Such an act might enhance papal prestige in the eyes of the world! So Pius V might have argued. What was more logical than that he should bestow signal honor upon one who had so clearly shown himself the friend of the papacy? By a Bull in which Pius cites similar cases of the rulers of Portugal, Bulgaria, Walachia, and Ireland, when the Popes Alexander III, Innocent III, and Paul IV had granted such honors, the pontiff supports his act as wholly consistent with precedent and papal prerogative.

Supported by all this formidable testimony and by the recent victory over the French Huguenots (which was in part due to the help Cosimo had given the Catholics), the opportunity was not lacking for the publication of the Bull which had not yet been released. And so, on December the seventh, 1569, the Pope's nephew, Michele Bonelli, arrived at Florence where the papal bull was read at the Palazzo Vecchio with great ceremony. While Cosimo was in high fettle and Florence was in gala mood, the prince was not idle in trying to appease the emperor by asserting that he personally had not sought such favor from the Pope who was acting purely on his own initiative. His proposed journey to Rome was to thank the Pope for his

beneficent honor. He did not reveal that he was, in fact, going to Rome to be crowned. But Maximilian was not taken in; and he demanded to know the terms of the Bull. He dispatched a courier to Arco, his ambassador to the Holy See, who was to present the emperor's protestations to the pontiff. To the demands of Maximilian, Pius declared that the Florentine prince was free and acknowledged no overlordship; and he cited many examples when the Pope had anointed kings; for example, in the case of Portugal and Navarre.

In spite of imperial remonstrances, Cosimo I arrived at Rome with pomp and circumstance, and was crowned with splendid ceremony in the Sala Reggia. But Arco, who was present at the function, still protested to the Pope in the name of the emperor. Maximilian's attitude never wavered. On Laetare Sunday, Arco once more renewed his protest to Pius in the presence of Cardinals Morone, Chiesa, and Bonelli. When Pius left the hall for the Coronation Mass in the Sistine Chapel he found Cosimo awaiting him there, dressed in a gold-embroidered robe over which a red cloak was thrown, while upon his head he wore the ducal cap. In the presence of the pontiff the Florentine prince took the oath of fealty, whereupon the Pope placed on his head the gold crown and in his hand the silver scepter. The ambitious duke had attained his long-cherished dream. With a proud consciousness of his victory, he bore the papal train, after presenting the customary golden chalice and other rich presents.

Much has been written about this act of Pius V in the crowning of Cosimo I. The bestowal of such signal honors was no longer customary; and not only Emperor Maximilian, but Philip of Spain did not like it. They seemed to see in it a usurpation of power by the new pontiff over their Caesaropapistical rights — "rights" built up by am-

bitious rulers and weakly conceded by the easygoing Renaissance pontiffs. All these ceremonies were, of course, only symbolical of real power, which the new doctrine of states' rights over the Church could not condone. But to Pius V they were an attempt to recapture the ancient dignity and prerogatives of papal authority. His insistence upon his desire to reward a prince who had never been wanting in his obedience to the papacy was, perhaps, a reflection upon those who were constantly thwarting him in his reform, and in his efforts to re-establish once again a Europe united under the papacy. Naturally his motives were demeaned, and his action was condemned as a desire for personal power; a suggestion that was in utter contradiction to his character, and wholly extraneous. Yet so strongly did the emperor and the king of Spain feel about the crowning of the Florentine prince that they did not cease to protest, even after it was a *fait accompli*. Philip, however, was not influenced by any other consideration than papal interference in temporal affairs; while the emperor, who had become the intimate friend of the House of Este, was motivated by more personal considerations.

Meanwhile the Diet of Spires was in the offing, and it was feared the emperor would again bring the matter before the electors, who, because of their leanings toward Lutheranism, would support wholeheartedly the emperor's position, if for no other reason than to oppose the Pope – "even in open war." At the Diet Pius V's reply to the emperor's protests was presented. The situation at Spires was very delicate; for war indeed threatened. Recognizing this, Pius V sent the captain of the Swiss Guard to the Catholic cantons to seek the aid of five thousand men in the event of the expected attack upon the Holy See. Maximilian, who was aware of the Pope's action, deplored the "rash interference of the Bishop of Rome," and said that

if he should march against Rome he knew that many German princes would join him, for they wanted the Imperial capital installed in the Eternal City.

Biglia's position as nuncio was, under these circumstances, most difficult. He did his best to forestall any untoward proceeding by the electors and tried to appease the emperor; but he was not very successful. In Rome the worst seemed to be averted, for a report came from Biglia that the emperor had relinquished his claims and had left the entire matter of dispute in the hands of the electors. This, however, proved not to be the case, for immediately after the Diet had been suspended, the emperor once again took up the cudgels against the Pope in the Cosimo affair. He forbade the cardinals and princes in his domain to address Cosimo by his new title. And he sent to Pius his demand for a satisfactory settlement of the controversy which would not infringe upon his own rights and those of his empire.

Pius' reply to this rather insolent letter was very restrained in tone, and in no way offended the emperor by even a hint of anything that questioned his dignity. The Pope merely protested that his action in regard to conferring the title upon Cosimo was in no way intended as a usurpation of the emperor's rights, and that he meant to submit the entire matter to an impartial examination, hoping to settle the controversy in a manner acceptable to the emperor. But Pius pointed out to Maximilian the threatening attack of the Turks and the very real danger to Vienna; hoping that such imminent peril would bring the emperor to his senses by an appeal to unity and concord in the face of a common danger. Biglia, who was instructed to speak in the same vein to the emperor, satisfied nobody. It was felt in Rome that his report had not represented the true state of affairs; while in Florence

they complained that the papal nuncio had been too easy-going. His recall was seriously considered; but that drastic step was not necessary, as he died suddenly at the end of April, 1571, of the spotted fever which was raging at Prague.

Now the question of his successor became a matter of vital concern, both to the Holy See and to the empire. Finally the Pope appointed the bishop of Torcello, Giovanni Delfino, especially since Commendone, who had been accompanied by Delfino on his mission in 1568, had strongly recommended him. Pius had an audience with Delfino before he departed to take up his duties, at which the Holy Father laid out in great detail very precise instructions. Upon his departure for Vienna, the papal-legate was also given minute written instructions. These included such matters as the persuasion of the emperor to come to an open decision regarding the protection of Catholic privileges, the protection of convents and churches from further depredations and interference in the free exercise of their rights, and the halting of further encroachments of Archduke Ferdinand (whom the Pope had threatened with excommunication for his high-handed interference in such ecclesiastical matters); and the question of Cosimo's title, and the league against the Turks.

Leaving the Eternal City on June the fifth, 1571, Delfino stopped off to get further information and advice from Commendone at his convent at Verona; so that he did not reach his destination at Vienna until July the twenty-second. His first audience with the emperor was purely formal; but at his second he took the bull by the horns and demanded that the emperor should show that he took his office as protector of the Church in something more than a mere rhetorical vein, and asked him to prohibit the Protestant liturgy in the German language,

which was openly sold to the nobles of Vienna on the alleged approval of the emperor. This prohibition which Delfino strongly advised, would show, the nuncio hoped, his Majesty's real feelings, and prove a check to the future use of his name by the vendors of the liturgical leaflets.

"The liturgy has already been proscribed," answered Maximilian; and he promised that he would look into the matter again to prevent its future sale. Maximilian praised the Pope's zeal for religion, and declared that he deplored the religious state in Germany no less than did the Holy Father; but the evil was too deeply rooted to be easily expunged. He must proceed with the greatest caution and trust to God to guide his action, declared the emperor.

Of course all these studied statements of his Majesty were not true to fact; for he had, as we have shown, actually cooperated in the secret publication and circulation of the liturgy, and he had given the nobles of Lower Austria written assurance for the free practice of their religion as early as 1568 – a promise that he had not abrogated. Delfino was completely taken in by these innocent assurances which were so sincerely expressed; especially as Maximilian had actually refused the Protestant states of Bohemia the free use of the Confession of Augsburg! But here again the monarch was playing both ends against the middle for his own advantage. So convincing was the emperor in his protestations that it was not until late in August of 1571 that the nuncio learned how he had been deceived in regard to the liturgy. He turned, therefore, to Albert V of Bavaria who was in Vienna for the marriage of his daughter Mary to the Archduke Charles, to beg the archduke to support the religion of his fathers. He handed Charles two letters from Pius in which the pontiff besought him not to permit in his domain those conces-

sions to Protestantism which his brother, the emperor, was making. Charles made sincere promises, for he was a loyal Catholic; but the situation was for him most difficult; for in his states a preponderance of his subjects were of the new religion, and Charles was in sore need of funds. In Styria the nobles were not content with the free exercise of their religion, but they were demanding that preachers be sent to all the cities to preach against "the abomination of idolatry." In his extremity Archduke Charles begged his subjects to practise Christian gentleness. Once again Commendone came to Vienna, in September of 1571, to urge active participation against the Turks. This time he remained in Vienna for two full months, after which he went to Poland. Grave illness of gout and heart disease, to which Maximilian was subject, seriously threatened the emperor's life. Reporting to Rome, Delfino said he believed God had sent the sickness to the emperor in order to chastise him, and bring him to a realization that he must live in a manner more befitting a true son of the Church; but Maximilian continued to live so compromising a life that no one could be quite sure whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant – if indeed he himself knew! And the Protestant nobles were taking full advantage of the emperor's vacillation by going far beyond the limits imposed by his assurances. They were indulging in violence in their fanatical zeal to extirpate "papistical idolatry," and they so intimidated the Catholics in the practice of their religion that, as was happening in England, they no longer dared to express their true opinions.[12]

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[12] The vile caricatures they were circulating were very similar to those which the author saw in New York City in the year 1937 – an exhibit which two Catholic priests had collected in Russia, Mexico, and Spain, in an effort to arouse the public to the extent to which the anti-God propaganda had gone in those sad countries.

As it developed, it was not only the Catholics that were protesting the emperor's ecclesiastical policy. Protestants as well were at odds about the memorials which were drawn up. There was general confusion and disturbance in the empire, for there was no agreement in regard to theological and ecclesiastical matters. Yet, while there was disunity in the Protestant ranks, the slow, steady progress of a Catholic restoration was quietly proceeding, thanks primarily to Pius V's unconquerable courage and tireless persistence. Against the forces of heresy and disunity in Europe, this militant soldier of Christ never gave way during his lifetime.

Pius demanded of the German bishops a profession of the Tridentine faith. He made their way easier by making concessions in financial matters, taking only one fifth of the annates due the Holy See, and said he was willing to forego them altogether in Cologne if the archbishop-elect would take the oath – which he steadfastly refused to do, although the archbishop of Trêves and the bishops of Osnabrück and Münster and several others had freely taken it. Frederick von Wieg resigned rather than surrender; and his successor, Count Salentin of Isenburg, likewise refused to take the oath, so that his confirmation was withheld. Yet, in his effort to redeem Germany, the pontiff made many concessions which he realized were necessary, due to the position of Catholics in that country; and he granted more in regard to the literal fulfillment of his Bull, *In coena Domini*. Although the Council of Trent had forbidden the holding of benefices, yet Pius V permitted the retention of several benefices in northern Germany in order to prevent the spreading of Protestantism there.

How clearly Pius V understood the religious situation in Germany was evidenced by his insistence that Catholic

professors should also take the oath of the Tridentine profession. For it was not so much the out-and-out Protestants that made the Holy Father's heart bleed; it was the lukewarm Catholics who, while they still retained an affection for Catholic rites and practices, were frequently indifferent about the doctrine and spirit of the Church. These near fallen-away Catholics, like their leader, Maximilian II, were constantly complaining about papal zeal. They tried to argue that the reforms of Pius V were not applicable to Germany. Many of these faint-hearted Catholics were perfectly sincere in trying to save the Church in Germany by winning the Protestants back to a watered Catholicism, bereft of strong ties with the Church of Rome, and without her vital, clear-cut doctrines.

There was one man in Germany who understood the papal problems there, and who cooperated so marvelously with Pius V that he has justly earned the title of "Second Apostle of Germany." For his unremitting labors in behalf of Catholic unity the Jesuit Peter Canisius may be regarded, indeed, a worthy successor of Boniface. In his zeal he drafted many reforms for the chapters which, like that of Strasbourg, were inclined to the new doctrines. Canisius realized that the chief reason for the sorry condition of the chapters was in the education of the German nobles who made up these same chapters.[13] He declared that German pastors were filled with fear for the future of the Catholic Church; for, said he, "they have no confidence in any prince. We are in a state of sore distress, and we cannot bear our sorrows any longer; yet we shrink from the remedy."

This worthy apostle from among the Jesuits, whose inspired founder had imbued the Order with the spirit of

[13] The cathedral chapters nominated the bishop when a see was vacant.

utter self-sacrifice "for the greater glory of God and for the universal good," now assumed the hard task of rescuing Germany from the sorry state into which Luther had brought her. Complete self-surrender to Christ and love of the Church He had founded, had steeled Canisius and his fellow Jesuits to cleanse the Catholic fold from within, and to undertake the conversion of the world. Everywhere they were transforming the face of society, not only in Europe but in the uttermost parts of the earth. In Mexico and in South America they founded universities long before Harvard was dreamed of. Today in the Argentine, in Brazil, and in Chile, as well as in the Philippines they still carry on with undiminished ardor. On the continent – in Germany, Poland, and elsewhere – they combated the heresies that had become so widespread.

In these labors Canisius was easily outstanding. The schools and colleges he founded were so excellent that in thirty years time they attracted such respect for solid scholarship that Protestants were eager to register their children in them. No one can estimate the fruits of Canisius' tireless labors for Christian education. His aim was not education as an end in itself or as a pleasurable cultural achievement, as was that of the humanists. For he saw that under the Renaissance pagan education had brought Rome and the papacy and Catholic ecclesiastics to the lowest level morally; and in Germany the sorry harvest Protestant training was reaping was everywhere apparent. "The greater glory of God and the universal good" was the motto inscribed over the doors of Jesuit schools.

As a result of Canisius' lifework the Protestant tide was stemmed in Germany. At Augsburg Canisius preached such sermons – sermons without any attempt at rhetoric or elocution – that the inhabitants who had been indoc-

trinated with Luther's teachings came eagerly to hear him. Wherever he went his preaching attracted vast throngs; whether at Augsburg, Cologne, or Strasbourg, or outside Germany, as at Prague and Vienna. It was especially to the young people that Canisius appealed – to the adolescents and to the children. To supplement his work as a preacher, Canisius wrote a clear, comprehensive catechism, first in Latin and then in the vernacular.

Luther's catechism had attracted popularity by his genius for effective language. Many catechisms had been attempted to counteract his work but they were hopelessly ineffective and inadequate. Canisius also had the genius for writing in the popular vein. He composed his own catechism and adapted it for various groups. Its universal appeal was such that it was translated into every European language and even into Indian and Japanese! It went into four hundred editions. The success of Canisius' catechism is due to the fact that it was an affirmative declaration of Catholic belief, written in simple sincerity, and was not, like its antecedents, propaganda against Protestantism. It was founded upon the authority of Sacred Scripture, reinforced by writings from the early Fathers,[14] and was vivid reading. There could be no doubt in the mind of the reader as to what the Catholic Church taught. To this work of genius, to his simple, direct preaching, and to his teaching in the universities, was due the restoration of Catholicism in Germany.

Canisius wrote also books of prayer, a Latin grammar untarnished by any controversial note (a departure from Melanchthon's *Latin Grammar*), books on the Epistles and the Gospels, and in addition found time to establish new provinces of his Order in Poland, Austria, and in

[14] Two thousand quotations from the Bible and twelve hundred from the early Church Fathers reinforced the Catholic statements.

Freiburg. When he retired to Switzerland at the age of sixty-six, this man of unblemished character, who had won the respect even of his enemies for the sanctity of his life and the nobility of his character, could look back with humble gratitude upon a lifetime of ceaseless labor for the Church he loved and the Master he adored.

5

CAESAR'S CONFLICTS WITH CHRIST'S VICAR

NO RULER had been more pleased at the election of Pius V than Philip II of Spain; yet it could not be said that Spain influenced the election, for there was a preponderance of Italian cardinals in the conclave. Many of them had been created during the last year of Pius IV's pontificate, and were men of irreproachable lives and superior abilities. Yet Pius V was the favored candidate of Philip II, no less than of St. Charles Borromeo.

In spite of Philip's loyalty to the Church and his satisfaction over the election, it is nonetheless true that Pius and he were often at serious odds regarding the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in Spain and the governmental policy pursued in the Netherlands, Milan, and Naples (which Philip had inherited as part of his father's patrimony), and indeed in all the states of Europe where the state was encroaching upon the liberties of the Holy See. They did not see with single eye the remedies to be applied to the baffling problems which the continent and the isles presented if Europe was to be rescued from complete disruption by the heretics and kept from being laid waste by another Turkish invasion.[1]

[1] On August 28, 1526, the Turks had annihilated the Hungarian army of 20,000 under Charles V's brother-in-law, Louis of Hungary, leaving Christendom in terrible jeopardy.

Philip's father, Charles V, had been more of a European and was more truly cosmopolitan than was his son. Yet even Charles, grand Catholic emperor that he was, seems at times to have been infected by that growing evil among Catholic rulers: Caesaropapism. For what he believed to be the interests of his Holy Roman Empire, and even of the Catholic cause of Europe, he had joined hands with Henry VIII of England against Francis I, who had betrayed his trust.[2] The motley band of brigands and mercenaries which made up his German Lutheran allies invaded the papal states and wreaked vengeance upon Rome,[3] pillaging and despoiling her. Charles himself was not leading his troops at the time; and it was from Florence they had set out to punish Catholic Rome. Was it because of this violence against his Catholic sympathies that he resigned the imperial reins and entered the Hieronymite monastery at Yuste in the Estremadura mountains, or was it from sheer weariness and a desire to end his life in peace?[4]

Philip II was, unlike his august father, a Spanish monarch. That he was a loyal son of the Church cannot be gainsaid. But while his Catholicity cannot be ques-

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[2] Francis I was openly an ally of the Turks; and Pope Clement VII was on Francis' side! How often, in history, this price of alliance with the forces of Beelzebub against the forces of Satan has acted as a boomerang against those who are fighting for what they deem the holiest cause!

[3] The sweepings of Europe, fourteen thousand of the most hardened ruffians, on May 6, 1527, bore down upon Rome, systematically looting every shrine, monastery, and church. For eight days the orgy of debauchery and massacre continued. The crimes committed on the Roman populace were unspeakable. Two hundred Swiss Guards were literally cut to pieces protecting the person of the Pope, Clement VII, who escaped to Castel Sant' Angelo.

[4] Charles wore mourning for the Sack of Rome while the joyous ceremonies of celebrating the birth of his son Philip II were in progress.

tioned, he had a myopic vision of the European scene. He compromised with Protestant influences and with the avowed enemies of the Church, like Elizabeth of England. His very temperament militated against his wholehearted support of Pius V's policies. His aversion to hasty action, his scrupulosity in regard to the detailed and laborious handling of his multitudinous duties made him a most conscientious ruler, but he was so immersed in the minutiae of the daily routine of state business that he has been called a painstaking clerk. And there is no doubt of his extreme jealousy regarding all the prerogatives of his kingly power and the heavy responsibility he felt in keeping his heritage intact.

The Spain of Philip II, when Pius V came to the papal throne, was proud, powerful, and magnificent. Her vast empire embraced the two hemispheres and upon her far-flung domains the sun literally never set. She was in the heyday of her glory. Yet, at the very zenith of her might, the seeds of her dissolution were already beginning to manifest themselves, though few of Philip's contemporaries probably were aware of the fact. One of these appalling evidences of decay was Philip's dependence upon the money lenders for loans at exorbitant interest that might enable him to carry forward his far-reaching projects. Throughout his reign of forty-one years Philip was harassed for lack of money, while gold was pouring into his kingdom from his possessions in the New World! This lack the Pope sought to supply, not only to the Spanish king, but to every other monarch whose Catholicity he did not question, or at least hoped to bolster up! After the birth of his ill-fated son, Don Carlos, followed shortly after by the loss of his first wife, Mary of Portugal, Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor of England seemed to augment his prestige as the foremost European monarch. This pres-

tige had been increased by his victory at St. Quentin in 1557, three years after he had ascended the Spanish throne. The consolidation of the Catholic cause in England, which both he and Mary hoped to effect, seemed imminent; but the loss of Calais, Mary's partiality for Spain (not only because of her husband whom she loved, but because of the memory of her mother, Queen Catherine, daughter of the mighty "Spanish kings," Ferdinand and Isabella, and of her own Spanish blood) all militated against her popularity in England. Finally her death without an heir and the coronation of Elizabeth created ominous forebodings among English Catholics (the vast majority of the populace) and in the mind of the Holy See.

It was inevitable that the relations between the Pope and Philip should have been strained. Pius saw in the hereditary claims of the Spanish king a grievous injury to the sacred universal mission of the Church. Philip and his ministers looked upon these same claims, founded as they were upon ancient customs and privileges, as the inalienable rights of the crown. They believed those rights were supreme even in ecclesiastical matters. Pius V was determined to bring about the complete independence of the Church everywhere. He meant to restore her liberties and to this end her jurisdiction must not be infringed upon by any civil power. That the disputes between the Catholic king and the Pope never reached an open breach was due to the political urgencies which naturally forced them into alliance, to the king's deep-seated Catholicism, and also to the personality and tact of the papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Castagna.

Castagna, archbishop of Rossano, was a born diplomat, one of those jewels in the diadem of the Church which every now and again shine resplendent in her long history. He was able to defend the rights of the papacy and

yet retain the favor of the king, although he had many heated controversies both with Philip and with his ministers. It happened that he was in Spain on January twenty-fifth, 1566, when the news of Pius's election reached Madrid. His congratulations to the Pope contained high praise for the Catholic zeal of the Spanish king; and in his letter of thanks for being given the nunciature he mentioned the exalted regard Philip II felt for His Holiness.

Castagna very soon learned how difficult his path as nuncio would prove to be. Long established custom had given control to the Spanish government of all acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the holding back *(retención)* of papal bulls, and through the refusal of granting the necessary *placet*. Moreover, any Spaniard could, by means of the *recurso de fuerza,* obtain redress from the royal council for any sentence imposed by any ecclesiastical judge, whether bishop or nuncio. The sole exception was the tribunal of the Inquisition. This procedure was, of course, in direct contravention of canon law. These violations, which were often exercised, were violations of the authority of the Holy See and of the liberties of the Church. Castagna realized how ingrained these customs had become and how they were taken for granted by the king and his ministers. In his letters to the Pope he excuses the king upon whose Catholic sentiments he builds such great hopes; and he lays the blame upon Philip's ministers for their obstinacy. He also lays great emphasis upon the habitual slowness of procedure at the Spanish court, and of the interminable written processes and the secrecy which he describes as impenetrable. He refers to the congenital indecision of the king and the constant dragging out of every question.

Many important questions called for immediate deci-

sion – none more so than the Carranza affair.[5] It was known that Philip II was enjoying the rich revenues of the archbishop's diocese during the seven long years that he had been imprisoned by the Spanish Inquisition. The papal nuncio was instructed by the Holy See to demand the archbishop's transfer to Rome where his case could be tried with impartial justice far from his enemies in Spain. To Philip's obstinate resistance the nuncio reiterated that the trial of Carranza belonged to the Roman tribunal. Castagna sought to disabuse the mind of the Spanish king of the fear that the Spanish Inquisition would be weakened if the case were tried in Rome. Handing an autographed letter from the Pope to the king in a personal interview on June twenty-fourth, the papal nuncio explained that the Pope stood above the Spanish Inquisition, which indeed derived its jurisdiction from him, so that the final decision was reserved to Rome; to which Philip, who had listened with courteous attentiveness, answered that such an important matter must be settled between himself and the Pope personally. Castagna demurred that the archbishopric of Toledo must be filled, and that the world would judge who was responsible for the unsettled state of affairs in Spain.

While negotiations were going on, news arrived at Rome from Spain that the Spanish bishops had refused to publish the papal bull, *In coena Domini,* unless it received the permission of the royal council. To this affront was added the refusal of the *exequatur*[6] in Spain and its dependent kingdoms, especially in Naples. Pius expressed his displeasure to de Requesens, the Spanish

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[5] See p. 37 for Paul IV's impatience over the delay of the Spanish Inquisition in bringing Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, to trial.

[6] Civil permission necessary for bishops to occupy their sees and to perform their ecclesiastical functions.

ambassador at the Vatican, and further wrote to Castagna to complain to the king of this infringement of the Church's rights. He declared that it seemed strange that so Catholic a sovereign should flout them. In consistory, Pius alluded to "those Catholic princes who arrogate to themselves the authority of the Holy See" and all present knew to whom he referred.

Even while the controversy was going on, Spain sent to Rome for financial aid by asking for a renewal for another five years of the *sussidio*[7] as well as the *Cruzada*. Luis de Requesens rebuked his colleague, the Spanish envoy Marquis D'Aguilar, for conducting business with such a holy Pope in the same manner as with his predecessor and with the popes of the Renaissance. But de Requesens was wrong when he told the marquis that Pius's refusal was due to the inopportuneness of his request. The Pope's refusal to grant the *Cruzada* was due solely to the abuses which had been connected with it. For he granted what he could in conscience grant. Similarly, he renewed the levy of the *sussidio* on the clergy even against the advice of his cardinals, which netted the Spanish government 400,000 scudi! Such generosity on his part was requited by the open support which the king gave the Spanish Carthusians in their refusal to make the contribution to Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome as the Pope had requested! Moreover the sums which the Fabbrica of St. Peter's had not collected from the *Cruzada* of the previous year were unfortunately not forthcoming from Spain. Meanwhile the transfer of Carranza was delayed from month to month.

Pius did not cease to demand the trial of the archbishop in Rome. He commanded the Spanish Inquisitors, under pain of excommunication, to send Carranza at once with

[7] A tax levied upon the Spanish clergy by the Spanish government.

safe conduct and the *acta* of his trial to Rome. This letter from Pius was of the date of August the third. But, as Castagna is careful to point out, on August twenty-third Philip had already anticipated the papal demands. and had decided to send the archbishop to Rome.

Although the vicar of Christ triumphed over Caesar in this instance, the trial of Carranza was not terminated in Pius V's lifetime. This was due to the interminable proceedings and the conscientiousness of the pontiff, who was determined that a thorough review of the case should be made. Pius V himself attended these tiresome sessions which often lasted for four and five hours at a time. They dragged on for ten years in Rome until, under Gregory XIII, in 1576, the Toledo archbishop was finally vindicated of the charge of *actual* heresy, but was condemned to abjure sixteen Lutheran propositions and was ordered to return to his own monastery at the Dominican convent near Santa Maria sopra Minerva and there to perform certain religious exercises as penances.[8] Here he died in touching submission to his superiors, declaring on his deathbed that he had never voluntarily held condemned propositions in the heretical sense, that all his life he had been a true adherent of the Catholic Faith. His death elicited the sympathies of the Romans who had sided with the archbishop throughout the long trial and confinement of seventeen years. Pius's successor, Gregory XIII, permitted a monument to be placed over his grave which bears an inscription to his honor. Thus ended the sad case of the Spanish archbishop which was prolonged during the entire pontificate of Pius V, in order to do full justice to Spanish demands, and that no cause of com-

[8] He was not, therefore, as Von Ranke says, "condemned to death" (!) The source for this statement is Llorente, who is notoriously unreliable.

plaint or blame could be lodged against the holy office in Rome. The familiar saying that "Rome moves slowly" was terribly true in the case of the archbishop of Toledo, but Spain's unwillingness to drop the case even after it was transferred to Rome, her constant and persistent interference in the processes, were largely responsible for the prolonged delay.

In spite of the difficulties which Pius experienced in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline in Spain, the Pope leaned heavily upon Philip II. He realized the Spanish king was his main support in a Europe torn from its moorings – the Universal Church. He frankly confessed to Philip how dependent the Holy See was upon his loyal allegiance. When he told the king: "All Christianity depends upon you. This Holy See has no other defender," he was not talking in figures of speech. He was stating the bald truth regarding the situation among the rulers of Europe, with the exception of Spain and Portugal. For England, under the shifty Elizabeth, bore close watching, although not yet considered hopelessly lost to the Church. The Huguenot movement in France was constantly stirring up revolt and open wars, and the queen regent and her weak son Charles were, for a time, allying themselves with the Calvinists – so long as it suited their dynastic ambitions. Besides, there was the constant fear in Rome that the Huguenots would ally themselves with the Turks, and that the disaffected political elements in France would betray Christianity in the same manner as Francis I had done in his day. In Switzerland, although Calvin had died, his theocracy in Geneva was thriving. The University of Geneva was attracting men of eminence in the intellectual world, and his *Missionary House for the West* was supplying England, France, Holland, Scotland, and Germany with preachers. Coligny was aiming at taking over the control

in France, and his influence over the weak-minded king was so threatening that, out of fear lest her own power over her son might be completely lost, the queen mother shifted her alliance from the Calvinists back to the Catholic elements in France! In Germany, for a full decade now, Lutheranism was triumphant, but it appeared to be purely a national phenomenon; and although Maximilian II favored the new party, and political recognition had been given the Lutheran Revolt as far back as the Peace of Augsburg (1555), the emperor was, nevertheless, not free to release himself from the ties which bound him to the long Catholic tradition of his family. Most important of all, his political policy was strongly influenced by his powerful cousin, Philip II, of Spain.

But what Rome feared above all else was the formation of a united front by the two most powerful anti-Catholic forces in sixteenth-century Europe — Mohammedanism and Calvinism — and the launching of a joint attack simultaneously from Constantinople and Geneva. This was a very real danger to Catholicism in Europe. Although Malta, Sicily, and Spain were threatened by the Ottoman power, which had directed their attack this time from the *western* Mediterranean, Northern Africa was under direct threat, while Spain (where the Moriscos[9] of Granada would be only too willing to cooperate with their blood-ancestral comrades-at-arms) was in imminent peril. Italy was threatened from the south. Malta had been attacked shortly before the conclave which elected Pius V was convened, and Rome was in a frenzy of fear.[10]

It is little wonder, therefore, that Pius V strove mightily to appease and conciliate Philip II! Urgent necessity, and

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[9] Converted Moors whose "conversion" seems often to have been a matter of expediency, rather than of conviction.

[10] See pp. 14 and 15.

the peace and security of Christianity, all demanded such a policy. And Philip, it must be remembered, was a profound Catholic – both by tradition and by conviction. He fully realized his important role in preserving the Catholic Faith in Europe. It was not mere rhetoric, but the statement of his deepest and most honest sentiments, to which he gave expression at the Provincial Council of Granada in 1568 when he said:

"Be thoroughly convinced that in everything that effects the true service of God, religion, and the Church, we will neither shun nor flee from danger, labor, and suspense, nor any other human obstacle, but will immediately place our state and person and, should it be necessary, our very life, at the disposal of the Church."

Thus it is certain that both the Holy Father and the king of Spain fully realized the importance of close collaboration. Philip II seems to some historians a most enigmatic character and to have had a dual personality; each fighting against the other for supremacy. His kingly prerogatives inherited from the time of the "Catholic kings," Ferdinand and Isabella, and granted by the Spanish pontiff, Alexander VI (which had antedated Lutheranism), were an essential and integral portion of his patrimony, and consequently, in his eyes, inviolable. His ministers seemed unwilling to recognize that these same privileges were no longer applicable under a pontiff like Pius V, although the Spanish ambassador, de Requesens, saw very clearly how obsolete and anachronistic they now were. "They [the Spanish ministers] want to treat all the pontificates in the same fashion," he complained of the Spanish court. Yet, jealous as he was of his regalistic rights, Philip II was a devout Catholic sovereign, and wholly devoted to the interests of the Church. He saw himself in the role of a great crusader who should once again

inspire a world crusade against Protestantism and Mohammedanism.[11]

Although Philip II was deeply concerned about heresy in the Netherlands, where (even while the Carranza negotiations between Rome and Madrid were going on) disturbances had broken out which threatened most serious consequences, he seemed hesitant about taking the initiative and kept delaying the decisive course which the Pope was advocating of going personally to take control of the situation in his own domain. Pius saw a "conflagration which was gaining ground every day" and felt the king's personal presence among his subjects imperative. In September of 1566 news reached Rome of the shocking desecration of the churches by the Netherland Iconoclasts. This sacrilege aroused the Pope to take a drastic step. Secretly he dispatched the bishop of Fiesole, Pietro Camaiani,[12] to Madrid to adjure the king "by the Blood of Christ" not to put off his journey to the Netherlands any longer. For Pius V, who has been called "impractical" by some writers, saw only too clearly that unless their sovereign himself took the reins in his own hands, the Netherlanders would be lost to the Church – and to Spain! – and that in this event England and France would be irretrievably lost to the Catholic cause. Pius insisted that even though a large army were sent to the Low Countries, nothing would be gained without the king's personal presence.

It is no exaggeration to say that Camaiani's mission

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[11] A more lucid understanding of his real character is presented by such an historian as William Thomas Walsh who, in his profound scholarly work, *Philip II,* gives an illuminating insight into this ruler who has been mauled by Anglo-Protestant writers most unfairly. Walsh's access to original sources, and his untiring research from authentic documents, has justly won him the *Laetare Medal.*

[12] Nuncio under Julius III to Charles V.

caused a sensation in the courts of Europe. The envoy-extraordinary was also charged to lay before the king the confusion that the sovereign privileges, known as the *Monarchia Sicula,* were causing in Naples where, as never before, "the Catholic king was made a pope" by his ministers. Unless this state of affairs were remedied, Pius instructed Camaiani to tell Philip, he would be obliged to withdraw all concessions and indults.

When, in November, 1566, the envoy appeared before the king, he received a cold reception. Philip was hurt, he said, that any doubts were entertained about his promised journey to the Lowlands. "God," he asserted, "is making use of me as His instrument." Philip's resentment did not daunt the papal envoy; and before long word was received in Rome that the Spanish king was indeed setting out for the Netherlands. Pius tried to assuage the anger of the king by assuring him he did not question the sincerity of his promise, but feared that the devil would put obstacles in his way, as so often happens with many good intentions.

At the beginning of the new year the nuncios, Camaiani and Castagna, met with the king and Alba to discuss the plan of a league of Christian princes against the Turks, so dear to the pontiff's heart. The Spanish ministers showed themselves strongly averse to the undertaking, fearing the German Lutherans and the French Huguenots might suspect the league was directed against themselves. Madrid wanted it to appear that intervention in the Low Countries was motivated solely by political considerations. But Rome demanded the religious aspects be emphasized, as the recent uprising of the Iconoclasts had clearly demonstrated the pattern the revolt had assumed. Again Philip repeated his promise to go at once to the Netherlands. He promised also that in regard to the infringements of ec-

clesiastical power in Sicily he would satisfy the Pope. Feeling his mission was successfully terminated, Camaiani returned to Rome.[13] No sooner had he left than it became apparent to Castagna that Philip would conduct a *political* trial against the rebel Netherlanders, although he knew full well that heresy was the cause of the revolt and of the desecration of the churches.

Although the Pope had made the concession of the *excusado*[14] to the Spanish king, nevertheless Philip eventually abandoned the journey to the Lowlands. The stern measures of Alba, who had been given dictatorial powers, relieved the Pope's mind of the chief worry which had incited him to take the steps he had taken. But constant friction arose between Rome and Madrid because of ever-recurring demands for the *Cruzada.* (Even the Spanish prelates sided with the caesaropapist demands of the ministers!) Yet this, Pius felt in conscience, he could not satisfy. De Requesens appreciated the difficulties of Pius, and wrote to Philip from Rome: "Your Majesty may rest assured that what he has done was not due to any ill-will, nor to any private intentions, but to holy zeal." Spain, he said, had gone too far! If Germany had thrown off her allegiance to the Holy See in both *word and deed,* Spain had done the same in *deed.*

In Philip's domain of Milan, Archbishop Borromeo was encountering difficulties from the Spanish representatives in his attempted reforms. In the Duchy, where the senate exercised the widest powers, Borromeo, as cardinal-archbishop of the diocese, obtained from the civil courts the promise to act more rigorously with sacrileges pertaining to blasphemy, Sunday observance, usury (which

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[13] March of 1567.

[14] A customs duty by which the King received a third of the tithe due to the Church. Payment to the Church of this third was therefore "excused."

was contrary to the Church's laws), and the sacrament of marriage. Pius, fearing that such interference by the civil courts might result in ecclesiastical irregularity, wrote to Borromeo, trying to calm his scruples. Nevertheless, Borromeo set up a force of armed police for the arrest of offenders. This was entirely in accord with an ancient practice of the archbishops of Milan. The senate at once were up in arms against what they said was an infringement of their prerogatives. The police and the armed forces, they claimed, were under their sole jurisdiction. Even when Borromeo tried to give publicity to papal decrees, they declared this could be done only with the consent of the senate. The governor, duke of Albuquerque, intervened; and the senate withdrew its claims regarding the *placet* and the papal briefs; but the question of the archbishop's armed police was never settled during Borromeo's lifetime.

Borromeo's stern measures against abuses made him many influential enemies among the nobility, with whom he was "an unwelcome reformer." One such noble Milanese, who "had sold the honor of his house" for money, was arrested by the archbishop. Under the charge of carrying forbidden arms, the senate broke through ecclesiastical immunities. Seizing Borromeo's officer at the doors of the cathedral, they publicly tortured him and then banished him from Milan. Borromeo demanded redress. The senate refused. The archbishop then excommunicated the offenders. The senate retaliated by tearing the sentence from the church doors; and they appealed to the Holy See against the archbishop for infringement of their legal rights. Thus the break was beyond reconciliation; and the only solution of this tangled affair lay in Rome's protest to Madrid.

Pius appealed to the governor over the heads of the

senate. He demanded restitution for the cardinal-Archbishop, and that the trial of the guilty be reserved for future inspection. All the protests of the governor and the Spanish ambassador were unavailing, although the Pope allowed them an extension of time to prepare their case. Philip II sought a reconciliation. He sent instructions to his personal representative, the Marquis de Cerralbo, that if this were not forthcoming at the conference with the cardinal, he was to threaten Borromeo by publicly charging him with disturbing the peace of the state!

Before Cerralbo could come to an understanding with Borromeo, news came from Rome that the papal decision was formulated. This caused Cerralbo to hasten to Rome. Before he arrived, Cardinals Pacheco and Granvelle had succeeded in convincing the Pope to withdraw his summons of the senate on condition of their making peace overtures with the archbishop and begging for absolution. When Cerralbo arrived he rejected this compromise suggested by Pius V.

Meanwhile the governor of Milan, who had formerly shown himself the friend of the archbishop, withdrew his conciliatory attitude and now openly treated him as an enemy. On the eve of Corpus Christi he refused to participate in the procession if the armed guards of the archbishop took part. As a result of an edict he issued against "those who violate the royal jurisdiction" (which all understood referred to the controversy with the archbishop), Borromeo's officers of justice fled, and the archbishop's court was null and void.

The edict gave courage to the chapter of Santa Maria della Scala, which was in sore need of reform, to resist the archbishop's visitation, claiming the chapter was under the king's patronage. Such an exemption had indeed been given to the Scala by Clement VII, but *on condition that*

the archbishop of Milan should confirm it! Borromeo appealed to Rome for instructions; and, when granted the right of visitation, after weighing the matter for two months, he acted. The senate and the governor openly sided with the chapter of the Scala.

Borromeo's mind was made up. The visitation should take place without delay. On the last day of August, 1569, the Cardinal appeared in solemn procession, and the wildest scenes ensued. The cavalcade was halted, and the mob seized the horses' bridles. Borromeo dismounted from his mule, held his cross aloft and pronounced excommunication of the canons while armed mercenaries brandished their swords as they shouted: "Spagna! Spagna!" and slammed the gates in the archbishop's face.

While Borromeo was in the cathedral repeating the excommunication the canons of the chapter rang all the city bells and proclaimed that the archbishop of Milan had brought upon himself ecclesiastical censure by his action against the Scala. This proclamation in bold lettering was nailed up against the doors of public buildings.

The situation of the archbishop looked hopeless. His tribunal was defunct. Not a hand was lifted against the hired ruffians who had raised their swords against the great prelate of the Church. The governor wrote angrily to the Pope that Milan would have no peace until the archbishop was removed. These unfavorable reports seemed to sway the Pope who wrote to Borromeo that since he had refused to delay the visitation for three days, as he had been requested to do, he could not approve his conduct. But the pontiff did not withdraw his protection and he warned the governor in the strongest language against any further acts of violence toward the archbishop.

In spite of so much opposition, Borromeo defended his cause with courage and through his letters to the

Pope, to the papal nuncio in Madrid, and to the king, he succeeded in obtaining the impossible—victory! He strongly denounced the governor's edict. It was at this juncture that, in a most miraculous manner, he escaped assassination at the hands of the Umiliati.

Since 1560 Borromeo had been protector of the Umiliati and eight years later had caused the Order's suppression. The members were composed of Italian noblemen who had been hostages of Germany and who for a time were zealous in good works. They supported themselves by manufacturing cloth and in the course of time the Order became very wealthy. This caused their undoing. During Pius IV's pontificate there were not more than two hundred members. Living luxuriously in palaces, surrounded by servants and squandering their wealth on worldly pleasures, they did not even remotely justify their existence as monks. Because of their immense wealth and influence it took bold courage to oppose them. But Borromeo was the man to perform the task! First he tried in 1560 to reform them, but his efforts were fruitless. After his uncle's (Pius IV's) death, he requested Pius V to grant him a brief ordering the superiors to resign, limiting their terms of office to short periods, surrendering their possessions, and putting the administration of the property into disinterested hands, thus compelling all the members to live a truly monastic life.

In June of 1567, fortified by the papal brief, Borromeo took the chapter of Cremona completely by surprise. He informed the chapter that he was invested with plenary powers by the Pope, by which he declared the election of the new general invalid. He named another general who, under the influence of the Barnabites, was living a more exemplary life of discipline. The chapter protested that the papal brief was obtained by Borromeo through

fraud and misinformation, and hence was not valid. They took their grievance to the Pope himself, and at the same time appealed to the secular princes for protection. Borromeo was nothing daunted and continued to impose the reform. The ire of the members grew to white heat.

It was on the evening of October twenty-sixth, 1569, that the wrath of this fallen-away Order crystallized into a concerted attempt upon the archbishop's life. He was at prayer before the altar of his private chapel when, from a distance of only four or five paces, the shot was fired. Although it struck his spine, it glanced off and was ineffective! Later it was picked up from the chapel floor. The archbishop's robe showed the hole where the shot had penetrated. In the general melee that followed the firing of the shot, the would-be assassin escaped – aided by the fact that Borromeo continued his devotions as if nothing had happened.

The story of the archbishop's miraculous escape was broadcast all over Italy and Borromeo's popularity was increased by what was obviously divine protection. The hand of God had intervened to save the life of His servant!

In spite of Philip II's deep-rooted Catholicism and his desire to prove himself the defender of Christendom, the disputes between Madrid and Rome over his caesaropapist claims did not abate. At the end of 1567 de Requesens relinquished his post as ambassador of the king in Rome. The pope was sorry to see him go, and sent by him to the king a *Memorial* regarding the papal position over the Milan and Naples disputes and the *Monarchia Sicula.*

Granvelle was Philip II's most trusted cardinal in the Curia. Together with Cardinal Pacheco he could be counted upon to further Spain's interests. These two cardinals were not trusted by Pius since, as he told Granvelle on one occasion, he was "more Spaniard than cardi-

nal." Granvelle was a cold-blooded politician to whom the Pope's sensitive conscience did not appeal. He thought the Pope was actually ruining the cause of religion by his ignorance of politics and his scruples—a view which Philip II seemed at times to share.

On de Requesens' departure the pontiff welcomed his successor, Juan de Zuñiga, most cordially; and to France's objection he declared that the king of Spain was the only Catholic sovereign who protected the Church. Zuñiga soon realized how difficult it was to overcome the Pope's scruples about granting the *Cruzada,* and hence decided not to broach the subject until Cerralbo had settled the Milan controversy. It was at this time, March 24, 1568, that Pius conferred the Red Hat upon Canonist della Chiesa who was held in high esteem by Philip, on the Spanish councilor of state, Espinosa, and on Antonia Carafa—all three devoted adherents of the king of Spain. These concessions won over the Spaniards and caused Zuñiga to declare:

"We have a holy Pope. If he will only grant us the *Cruzada,* we ask nothing more. He would like to reform Christendom at a single blow, but this is impossible."

More than once the new ambassador complained that Pius V was over-sensitive, and showed by his comments how keenly he sensed the conscientious character of the Pope. When Zuñiga pressed His Holiness for the granting of the *Cruzada,* Pius indignantly told him he was disgusted with his insistence in trying to make him concede to requests he could not in conscience grant. All the while the ambassador wrote to the king telling how great was the solicitude of Pius for His Majesty's health, and how strongly the pontiff was disposed in his favor. In a letter to a friend, Zuñiga stated that he doubted he could influence the Pope into granting the *Cruzada,* but added

he had not yet told the king his fears. While the final settlement of the Milanese conflict was still delayed, Castagna begged that the obedience due the pontiff and the rights of the Holy See be clearly defined.

In the *Memorial* referred to above, the Pope set forth his grievances. This document which de Requesens presented was read by the king. It is a detailed historical exposition which sought to show how heresies from the time of Hus had all aimed at the same thing; namely, to destroy the authority of the papacy. This was true of Bohemia, Germany, France, and England. But the Pope hoped that Spain, whose king was so Catholic minded and so conspicuous among the European rulers as a model of loyalty to the Catholic cause, would not succumb to the same alien influences through insistence upon privileges which in the last analysis were injurious not only to the Holy See but to his own regal interests as well. In the entire survey it was made abundantly clear that those rulers who had favored the Church and a unified Europe were the monarchs whose names were extolled in history. If the king of Spain wished to be numbered among these immortals, the Church's liberties must not be compromised; and the customary ecclesiastical trials must be preserved under the jurisdiction of the Church and not be usurped by the king and his ministers; thus opening up the first breach between the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and lay.

With his customary caution Philip replied to the *Memorial* that he must have more information; and he asked Castagna to detail what use the *Monarchia Sicula* had made of its prerogatives. Added to these indecisions and evasions, Spain was in an uproar because the Pope had issued a prohibition against bull fighting, which had likewise been forbidden in all the papal states. Pius de-

clared that all who did not heed his ban would be excommunicated; and that those who were killed in the ring should be denied Christian burial. The sport had been introduced into Portugal also; and the ordinance was published there as well. As may be imagined, the prohibition met with the strongest opposition. The king and the grandees all protested most vigorously. Because of their dependence upon kingly approval, the Spanish bishops sided with the powerful politicians at home, and did not publish the papal document, leaving it to Castagna to publish the Bull himself. On January the twenty-fifth, 1568, Castagna tried also to abolish the utterly un-Christian Spanish custom of forbidding the *Viaticum* to those condemned to death. Acting under papal commands, he tried repeatedly to remedy the abuses in the West Indies, demanding more humane treatment of the natives and their conversion to Christianity. Both the king and Cardinal Espinosa opposed sending a nuncio to the islands; but they did send instructions to the king's officials in the Indies to attend to these urgent matters.

The Bull, *In coena Domini*,[15] outlined the course of action to be taken for the re-establishment of ecclesiastical liberties, and was promulgated each year on Maundy Thursday. On this day (April 15) 1568, the Bull contained for the first time the statement that it was to remain in force until the promulgation of a new bull. Many additional references to abuses and usurpations of ecclesiastical powers by the civil authorities in various countries were included. The new clauses in the Bull included ex-

[15] At the time of the Vatican Council, three hundred years later, Döllinger inveighed against the Bull *In coena Domini,* referring to it as an *ex cathedra* decision, although he must have known that its binding force was lost after Pius IX had issued the constitution *Apostolicae sedis moderationi* in 1869. Yet the dispute was dishonestly carried on by Friedrich in *Janus* as if it were still in effect!

communication for those who appealed from the Pope to an ecumenical council for a decision; banishment of bishops, legates, cardinals, and nuncios who misused their ecclesiastical privileges; annulment of all former papal privileges to monarchs; and the Bull further entailed upon every priest its most careful study so that he might know in the Confessional what cases were reserved for the Pope's absolution.

Five days after its promulgation the Bull was sent to all the bishops, commanding them to make its contents widely known among the people. Of course this Bull was a direct condemnation of caesaropapism as it had developed in Spain and Venice. When it was first promulgated in 1566 by Pius V, Philip had permitted its publication on the ground that it did not invalidate those Spanish customs which had been granted and recognized by former popes. This time, however, due to the added clauses, Philip opposed the publication of the Bull — especially in Naples.[16] The Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiepolo, was also taking the position that the Pope was trying to assume control over purely civil matters; and so he wrote the Signoria. Zuñiga was more prudent, and seemed to have formed a more just estimate of the Pope's true character. He delayed the decision in the matter and decided to put it off until winter. But Madrid was obdurate and Castagna reported that the government was putting every possible obstacle in the way of the Bull's publication. Fearing opposition by the government, none of the bishops dared publish the Bull; hence Castagna himself undertook its release by sending copies to religious Orders and to confessors. Cardinal Espinosa wrote to Castagna

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[16] Additions to the Bull *had* been made by Martin V, Clement VII, and Paul III; but none were made by Pius V's *immediate* predecessors: Julius III, Paul IV, or Pius IV.

that His Majesty would not succumb to such "novelties" and that he refused to be a "dummy king." The Spanish ministers refused outright to publish the Bull in Naples without the *exequatur,* against which the additional clauses were aimed, as also against the *Monarchia Sicula* which contested the appointment of the papal nuncio, Odescalchi. Castagna reported to Rome that violent discussions were taking place in Madrid; and he prophesied that Requesens would be sent back to Rome.

Castagna besought the king in a private interview not to be led about by his ministers who were trying to force him to infringe upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which action was clearly against his own interests; and would, if continued in, prove the ruin of his kingdom. It was through love of His Majesty that the Pope was acting in the king's own best interest. His ministers were putting motives into the Pope's mind which he never entertained. "He had tears in his eyes," writes Castagna, "whether from anger or grief I do not know, when he said that even if the Pope had not interfered, he would, on his own account, have defended and maintained the rights, privileges, and customs handed down to him by his ancestors."

In his letter to Rome, Castagna said he felt convinced that the king had committed himself to his ministers, "upon whom he relies too much," and that his tears were due to his untenable position. "My hopes," he wrote, "are centered upon the Pope rather than upon the king."

What concessions Pius made to Philip, and how he tried to mollify his anger and explain his own stand, can be clearly appreciated by the instructions he sent to Castagna on August seventeenth, 1568. The Pope said he had not tried to bring about any innovation by the Bull nor even to do away with the *exequatur,* nor to limit the jurisdiction of the king; but only to safeguard the author-

ity of the Holy See and the interests of the Universal Church. As pontiff of Christendom he could not approve the rough-shod manner the royal ministers had adopted in proscribing such salutary apostolic bulls, even refusing to give their reasons! Pius prayed that the king would send a special envoy to discuss with him the *Monarchia Sicula;* for the abuses of this privilege had reached such an impasse that something must certainly be done about it. Although Castagna wanted Cardinal Espinosa sent in his stead, because of his knowledge of canon law, de Requesens was already on his way to Rome to undertake the delicate mission.[17]

It was while these matters were under consideration and still unsettled that the case of the king's son, Don Carlos, became the gossip of Europe. The arrest of the unfortunate misshapen heir to the Spanish throne caused rumors to float about through every court and counting house and peasant's hut. There seems little doubt that the Protestant leaders were using this weak creature for their own ends. A casket containing incriminating letters and papers came into the king's hands. In the box were two lists of "friends" and "enemies" of the Infante; the latter included the names of his father, the king, and the duke of Alba. The nature of the other papers has never been made public. It is probable the king destroyed them. Al-

[17] News of Philip's thwarting of Pius' efforts to effect ecclesiastical reform in Spain must have reached the attentive ears of Teresa of Ávila. One day in early March of 1569, he was given a sealed packet by his sister, the Princess Juana, which had been placed in her hands by a Carmelite nun who quickly disappeared. The writer of the missive had traveled through the snow from Valladolid expressly for this purpose. The King of Kings had ordered her to perform this mission! Although the body of the letter has been lost, a fragment, like a postscript, is preserved: *"Remember, Sire, that King Saul was anointed, and yet he was rejected";* and the signature, *"Teresa of Jesus"* is still extant in the handwriting of the famous Carmelite nun — the greatest woman who ever took the veil.

though Philip denied any charge of heresy or open revolt on Don Carlos' part, tales were persistent and refused to be silenced, which charged the prince was in league with the Netherland rebels. Espinosa told Castagna in the king's name that he had been forced to arrest his son "for the service of God, and for the safeguarding of religion, his realm and his subjects." It was known that for the past two years the king had made every effort to wean his son from his evil ways. Castagna wrote to Rome (February fourth, 1568) that the Infante had refused Communion at Christmas because the Hieronymite friars would not give him an unconsecrated Host, and that he felt certain that Don Carlos was permanently excluded from the succession and he doubted if he would ever be set at liberty.

The story of the prince's Protestant leanings was not new to Pius V. It had reached him from many quarters. "We know well that this prince has no love for priests or monks, and has no respect for any ecclesiastical dignity." Yet so distressed was the Holy Father at hearing of the arrest of the king's son, that he sent a special envoy to Spain. Pius V would not listen to rumors. He wanted to hear direct from the king himself. In a letter dated May the ninth the king writes to His Holiness:

I have looked upon the burden which God has laid upon my shoulders in the states and kingdom, of which He has called me to undertake the government, as being laid upon me in order that I might keep safe therein the true faith and subjection to the Holy See, that I might maintain peace and justice there, and after the few years that I still have to pass in this world, might leave these states in good order, and in that security which would guarantee their continuance. All depends in the first place upon the personality of my successor. But now, in the punishment for my sins, God has been pleased to inflict the Prince with so many and such grave defects, both of prudence and of character, as to render him unfit for the gov-

ernment, and to give reason to fear in the future the gravest dangers to the stability of the kingdom should he succeed to the throne.

And so the king goes on in his letter to the pontiff about the serious failings of his own son! It must have cost him dear! For this mighty monarch declares that he sees no hope of improvement in the Infante. The king begs the Pope to keep his confidences sacred, no matter what rumors he may hear. Philip asserted further that Don Carlos was not guilty of revolt or heresy, and that in the course of time the truth would be made clear.[18] He assured the pontiff that nothing is being left undone for the welfare of his son's spiritual needs, and that a confessor gives him every spiritual assistance.

When Don Carlos died, Nuncio Zuñiga related to Pius that the Infante had asked for a confessor and had left this world a Catholic Christian. The pontiff gave orders that the customary obsequies for kings and princes be observed, and himself participated at the funeral solemnities. Naturally rumors were rife that the Infante was done to death by the Spanish grandees who had in-

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[18] Yet Don Juan had reported to Philip that Don Carlos was planning a secret journey to Germany, and had asked him to accompany him. It was also divulged that he had confessed that he had a mortal enemy and meant to kill him; and that when his Confessor would not grant him absolution, he demanded of the Hieronymite monks a Confessor who would absolve him. Of course the monks refused, and were scandalized when he asked that an unconsecrated Host be given him when he should kneel with his father, the Queen and the Princess Juana before the Altar on Holy Innocents' Day. Philip's advisers firmly believed that a rebellion against the Crown was contemplated; and that Don Carlos was in league with Protestant factions who meant to use him as a figurehead.

It has been suggested that the real reason Philip hesitated so long in executing his oft-repeated promise to the Pope to go in person to the Lowlands, and finally abandoned the project, was his fear of a revolt at home. Coligny is reported to have confided to Catherine de'Medici and her son Charles, that a conspiracy was afoot which threatened the Crown and the life of the King himself.

stigated his taking off. The secret agent of Maximilian II, Niccolo Cusano, declared Don Carlos was put to death because he was in league with the Netherland Insurrectionists and the French Insurgents. Pius sent an envoy in the person of Giulio Aquaviva to convey the Pope's condolences to Philip — not only for the death of his son, but also for the loss of his wife, the lovely Elizabeth of Valois,[19] daughter of Catherine de'Medici, who had died one month after Don Carlos' demise.

Aquaviva delayed returning to Rome because on December tenth Maximilian's brother, the Archduke Charles, had arrived at Madrid and was trying to influence the king to compromise with the rebels in the Netherlands. He finally left Madrid on the thirteenth of December, preceded by a letter to Rome, written by Castagna, full of the highest praise for the tact and prudence he had shown at the Spanish court.

Meanwhile Philip had sent a letter to his representative, de Requesens, which clearly indicated that he and other Catholic governments, especially Venice, would not relinquish their claims over ecclesiastical affairs, but would ignore the Bull, *In coena Domini*. These claims were, as the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Bonelli, pointed out, *abuses* by which the bishops in Spain were treated worse than in Germany. Bonelli refers to the Milanese trouble and says the Pope's patience is at an end. He even threatens that the pontiff will have to have recourse to the only weapon which the Church had used throughout the centuries against recalcitrant rulers — that sword of the Church, excommunication. Although, according to ancient custom, the Bull was formerly published only in Rome, it always had had universal application.

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[19] She was adored by the Spaniards who loved to call her *Ysabel de la Paz* — "Isabel the Peaceful."

Pius V saw in Philip's insistence upon upholding the "rights" of the *Monarchia Sicula* a dangerous cleavage in Catholic unity between Spain and Rome which, if admitted by the Holy See, "would destroy the whole hierarchial organization of the Church." Even if, in the past, such privileges had been granted, favors are not immutable and can be withdrawn by the same power which grants them.

Philip really desired that the dispute in Naples should be settled; but his viceroy, the duke of Alcalà, was determined not to relinquish any of his own power over ecclesiastical affairs, and would not permit the publication of the Bull. In spite of the Pope's threat of excommunication against him, the duke ordered all copies suppressed. Those bishops who refused to be subservient to his threats he punished by confiscating their property. He used all his influence with the king to prevent Castagna's attempt to withdraw the exercise of the *exequatur,* which had been granted by former pontiffs at a time when factions in the kingdom necessitated such action, but was no longer applicable to the more stable state.

Castagna continued to oppose every infraction of papal authority which for years he had contested, and he stoutly upheld the prerogatives of the Church Universal. But he was forced to acknowledge his defeat at the hands of the viceroy of Naples. Just when Philip seemed on the point of submitting to Pius's demands, the duke prevailed upon the king not to relent in favor of Castagna's arguments. The reports sent to Spain denied the abuses existed which Castagna insisted must be corrected, such as the use of forged papal bulls which permitted the sale of indulgences, and the demand that the bishops must submit their spiritual instructions to the civil authorities before they could be printed. He rekindled in the king's mind the fear that,

if he surrendered to the Pope's just pleadings, he would thereby jeopardize his regal rights. And, sad to relate, in this obstinate and unreasonable fear he was upheld by political canonists who always advocated "opportunism" and forgot their allegiance to Christ's vicar; who flattered and cajoled Philip and his ministers, and thus compromised and confused the real issues so vital to the universal character of the Church.

Even Pius's concession to Philip in withdrawing Nuncio Odescalchi did not mend matters. Brumano, his successor, found no better treatment in Naples. The Pope's nephew, Cardinal Bonelli, insisted that Philip was not to blame; it was his unworthy ministers who misrepresented the true state of affairs in his Neopolitan dominion. Those bishops who had published *In coena Domini* without the *exequatur* had their property confiscated. Castagna declared that unless these grievous matters were remedied the Pope would be compelled to place the Kingdom of Naples under an interdict.

And so the matter stood when, in July of 1569, Philip granted an audience to Castagna. The threat of an interdict was again quite frankly made by the nuncio. Philip bemoaned the dissension which he said "the devil was sowing between himself and His Holiness." After a month's delay Cardinal Espinosa wrote the king's reply, which was that he had written to his viceroy in Naples to accede to the papal demands.

But the matter could not end with such a vague statement. It dragged on until 1570 like an interminable fencing match between two master swordsmen. Because of the stalemate, Pius sent Vincenzo Giustiniani, general of the Dominicans, to Madrid.[20] He was to attempt a settle-

[20] October, 1569.

ment of the Milanese controversy by securing the withdrawal of the governor's edict, as well as eradication of the abuses in the Kingdom of Naples. Both Giustiniani and Castagna worked loyally together; yet, after six months' efforts (during which time he had been given the Red Hat), Giustiniani left Madrid and was compelled to admit that he had accomplished very little. All he achieved were letters from Philip telling the duke of Albuquerque to settle the Milanese dispute; and bidding the viceroy of Naples and his ministers not to overstep their authority. These letters accomplished little or nothing to improve the impasse between Rome and Naples.

What really halted the controversy was a threat of more imminent concern, not only to Pius but to Philip as well, which called for closer collaboration between the Pope and the Spanish king in a tighter bond of unity. In March of 1570 the Turks were again on the rampage in the Mediterranean; and Pius sent Luis de Torres to Spain to arrange with the king an alliance with the papal states and Venice. To appease Philip, he extended the *sussidio* (tax on the Spanish clergy) for five years; and on May 21, 1571, he granted the *Cruzada* for two years, and the *excusado* for five more years. These concessions must have cost the Holy Father dearly! Only urgent necessity could have wrested them from him. The need for money to fight the Turks demanded every sacrifice. All his scruples had to be sacrificed before the pressing need of saving Europe from the Moors, and Christendom from Mohammedanism. Philip was fighting the Calvinists in the Netherlands, and had his hands full with the Moriscos in Spain. A fresh bundle of the sinews of war must be sent to Spain.

Meanwhile Bonelli, who was in Madrid as nuncio, had constant consultation with Castagna, and he conducted his negotiations with acumen and prudence. In a fare-

well audience with the king on November twelfth, Philip promised to resume negotiations regarding the *Monarchia Sicula.* In November, Bonelli went to Portugal to urge the marriage of Marguerite of Valois to the king. Upon his return to Madrid,[21] Cardinal Bonelli was apprized that Philip had sent rescripts to his officials in Naples forbidding them to interfere with ecclesiastical affairs — but these prohibitions his ministers well knew how to circumvent. And still Philip II held tenaciously to his regal "rights" and never surrendered them during the pontificate of Pius V!

It is worthy of note that in all the controversies with the Spanish king, both of the Spanish ambassadors in Rome (de Requesens and de Zuñiga) testified that the motives of the pontiff were pure throughout; and that his sole concern over the usurpations of ecclesiastical authority by the civil power was his zeal for religion and the unity of Christendom. Had his will prevailed, it might well be that the history of subsequent popes who bear the name of Pius would have been simplified, and the totalitarian ideology which infects every nation today might have been destroyed at its roots. Lutheranism might have proved just another passing heresy, like the Albigensian and the Jansenist, if the uncompromising policies which Pius V had always advocated had met with the unqualified support of Catholic princes, and the loyal devotion of Catholic bishops. Do not political compromise and blind adherence to questionable national trends in the name of "patriotism" always prove in the long run *impractical* as well as *immoral?* and is it not patent that, *in the final analysis,* surrender of the rights of Christ to the claims of Caesar is the root cause of the debacle in which the world

[21] December, 28.

finds itself today? That Pius V, valiant soldier of Christ and defender of the Church Militant, had on occasion to sheathe the sword of St. Michael in its scabbard, was due not to lack of courage nor to political chicanery on his part, but to the exigencies of the times and to lack of co-operation from his lieutenants.

6

REBELLION IN THE LOWLANDS

REVOLUTIONS are always preceded and accompanied by a campaign of cunning propaganda which conditions a people for revolt against established authority. Over a long period of European history this effective process of planting seeds of dissention has borne its poisonous fruit in an abundant harvest of blood and tears. Untold millions of lives have been sacrificed between opposing forces in a belated attempt to remedy or to stay the onslaught of accumulated evils which, if corrected in time, would have prevented the holocaust that was heaped upon the world. Yet, if the spiritual and moral authority of the Church, with its supranational character, preserved intact her universal mission amidst all the forces of evil and in spite of the human frailties of a few of her pontiffs, especially those of the Renaissance period, it is partly because of the Church's marvelous organization which acts as a brake and a balance. Primarily, however, this is attributable to the divine protection. Even when the Church herself has been the focus of attack, she has arisen, in spite of schism and heresy and revolt, and pushed on to greater victory! The long, dark periods through which she passed have sorely tested the faithful; but always, eventually, the barque of Peter has weathered the storm and sailed on to

new untried harbors. This happened after the long persecutions of the Roman emperors, after the Arian heresy, after the barbarian invasions, and is still happening today when the "Reformation" of Luther, the Theocracy of Calvin, and the wars of the Huguenots in France have all long since lost their vitality; and in more recent times, after the French Revolution and Terror have spent their driving force. When we contemplate this bitter ceaseless struggle between Christ and Caesar, can we doubt, in our own dark hour, the eventual outcome in a Europe in which the teachings of the Nazis are threatening a reversion to paganism, while a most frightful anti-God and atheistic regime has been imposed upon the peoples of Soviet Russia? Elsewhere, too, the propaganda of the cliques and societies of the godless is carried on with diabolic astuteness and intensity.

One such example of propaganda, which was the more insidious because it was naïvely sincere, was that of Baianism in the days of which we are here treating. It had broken out in the Netherlands, at that seat of Catholic culture which in our time has become a symbol of all that is noble and heroic — the University of Louvain. Pius V was the agent who was responsible for the fact that Italy was saved to the Catholic Church.

Many have criticized his rigorous methods, but no serious-minded and honest historian has ever imputed his motives to inherent harshness, but solely to a deep sense of duty. He believed with all his soul that the first duty of a ruler is to administer impartial justice. His concept of government implied the punishment of law breakers who were jeopardizing the innocent members of society. Apostasy was in his time regarded as a grave crime against the existing order. Pius believed that by pursuing a weak policy against the rebels, he would only invite a more

serious aftermath of woe. Therefore he was vigilant in his defense of the Church's time-honored dogmas, preserved by her inviolately since the days of Christ and the Apostles, against which Luther had raised the banner of revolt. During his office as Grand Inquisitor, Pius had sought to allay and to crush erroneous doctrines wherever they raised their threatening heads. He well knew that it was by means of printed propaganda that revolt and dissension spread. How successful this method of the revolutionaries was, is reflected in the fact that Luther's Doctrine of Justification by Faith "only" (a word he arbitrarily inserted in his translation of the Bible), not merely took a firm hold upon the unthinking public, but even infected for a time such prominent Catholics as Pole and Contarini. The interpretations of Michael du Bay, known as Baius, of Louvain University, regarding original sin, grace, and free will, created a system of doctrine at odds with Catholic teaching, which was subversive of the entire structure of the dogmatic system of the Church.

Baius had held the Royal Chair of Sacred Scriptures at Louvain ever since 1552, during the pontificates of Julius III, Paul IV, and Pius IV. Pius V remembered his case; for, as Grand Inquisitor under Pius IV, he had to study it. Baius' followers at the university had wanted him to be sent to the Council of Trent, but this was strongly opposed by Pius IV and Borromeo. The papal-legate to Germany, Commendone, also opposed the presence of Baius and his disciple, Hessels, at Trent, dreading further dissension in Germany; and fearing that if they came to the council and were forbidden to express themselves, the Protestants would raise the hue and cry of curbing free speech. It was more advisable not to admit these adherents of suspect heresy. Eventually they did go to the council as the royal representatives of Margaret of Parma, and

they assisted in the last three sessions; but they had no opportunity to explain their doctrines. Their private views were, however, well known; and yet they escaped condemnation because of the speedy closing of the council.

Baius founded his whole doctrine upon "Sacred Scripture and the Early Fathers"; and he rejected mediaeval theologians entirely, asserting that St. Augustine was his master, and that theology had degenerated during the Middle Ages by getting involved with Aristotle. He rejected the essential truth that in his fallen state man is a free agent and a creature of reason; and the important Catholic doctrine that in the state of grace he is endowed with supernatural gifts. He further held that concupiscence is the result of original sin. According to the Baian theology fallen man must inevitably be relieved of any responsibility for personal sin, since his acts are independent of his will! Even redeemed man, on the other hand, was regarded by him as not free in the acceptance of grace. Baius tried to overcome this impasse by distinguishing between "external liberty and interior necessity." The logical conclusion of such a system of theology was the same in essence as that espoused by the Calvinists: "the enslavement of human nature by the devil," and condemned men to the frightful fatalistic doctrine of "election," with all its terrifying implications! Man, unless among the Calvinistic "elect," was excluded from being a son of God; and God the Father was robbed of all his merciful attributes! While quoting St. Augustine as his authority, Baius wrested words and phrases from their context to suit his meaning and to bolster up his system of theology.

In dealing with Baius' apostasy, Pius proceeded with the greatest caution, not only because Cardinal Granvelle, who was in Rome, had spoken of him in the highest terms,

but because he himself believed him to be a learned man of pure intentions and unquestioned sincerity. The Pope sent copies of the writings of the Louvain professor to savants of theology in several universities of Europe, asking them to examine the contents carefully and express their opinions in writing. These copies were dispatched without any hint of their authorship, so that the judges would not be influenced by the personality of the man; but would give their plain, unvarnished opinions of the propositions themselves. As a result of their findings Pius was obliged to condemn seventy-six of the propositions as "heretical, erroneous, suspect, scandalous, and offensive, etc."

In a letter to his vicar-general, Morillon, Granvelle asserted that the Pope had gone into the matter as conscientiously as if the salvation of the whole world were at stake. The opinions enumerated in the papal bull (which was not publicly published) were sent to the professors of theology at Louvain. The dean and Baius himself and seven other professors submitted to the Pope. The Fleming Franciscans, who had been under Baius' influence, also obeyed. It seemed that the issue was closed, since the bishop of Ghent, Cornelius Janssen, reported that the new doctrines had completely disappeared.

But Baius would not abide by his pledge of obedience to the Church. He even went so far as to assert that he meant to write a book against the bull. This unwise move Morillion dissuaded him from executing — for a time. Yet, despite his promises of obedience, Baius sent an *Apologia* to Pius V in which he asserted that the Pope had compromised his honor by the publication of the bull, declaring it a scandal to the men of the north who rested their case upon Holy Scripture and the Early Fathers. He tried to show that the Fathers themselves

were condemned by the pontiff's zeal for scholasticism! In a letter to Cardinal Simonetti, written at the same time (March 15, 1569), he explained his motives. He was trying, he said, to reconcile the Protestant factions with true Catholic doctrine; and to build a bridge between the religious antagonists – a commendable intention no doubt; but Pius V well knew that such a rapprochement as Baius proposed would be a kiss of death for Catholicism.

The Pope's reply was prompt and bitter. The papal brief was issued on May the thirteenth and declared that if the bull had not been issued heretofore, it would now be necessary to issue one. He confirmed the bull, and imposed perpetual silence upon all those who had formerly espoused the propositions of Baius.

The next month Baius was informed that he had brought upon himself ecclesiastical censure by his protests to the Pope. Whereupon Baius asked for absolution, but this was denied unless he should recant. This recantation Baius finally made, and wide circulation was given it by the provincial of the Franciscans in Flanders.

But Baius still struggled against complete submission to the papal demands. He clung tenaciously to his ideas which he doubtless sincerely believed were the teachings of St. Augustine; although, even if they were not distorted, he should have known, as a good Catholic, that later dogmatic pronouncements of the Church can define what from the beginning has belonged to the deposit of faith, but may not have been clearly perceived by all. In spite of an apparent temporary submission, Baius gave a lecture course, and (April 17–19, 1570) reiterated his attitude toward the papal bull. His words were in substance a restatement of the *Apologia* he wrote to the Holy Father and to Cardinal Simonetti.

This reopening of the issue sealed his fate. The duke

of Alba entered the controversy and, at the provincial council held at Malines, demanded that the bull should be subscribed to by all the professors at Louvain. In November of the same year this was done in the presence of Baius, who openly wept.

Later, at the insistence of Pius and of Alba, all the books containing Baius' condemned propositions were confiscated at the university. At the same time (August 29, 1571) all the doctors of the university "in all reverence" publicly declared they accepted the bull, and Baius himself submitted to it without reservation. Thus, finally, the controversy of Baianism was brought to an end.

Judging by the tragic events enacted in the Lowlands, it may be asked if the leniency and patience of Pius V in the Baius case, which had covered in all eighteen years, did not delay the settlement of issues which was so fundamental to the crushing of the revolt in the Netherlands. This case was a conspicuous exception to the Pope's own oft-repeated conviction that prompt, severe measures against heresy would eventually prove kinder and more humane than protracted attempts at conciliation. Yet Pius V's delicacy of conscience did not permit him so to act either in the Carranza case nor in the case of Baius. But, in dealing with Italian apostasy (with which he was naturally more familiar), he acted swiftly and without hesitation. His drastic, uncompromising methods in dealing with Italian heresy undoubtedly saved that country to the Church, and quite possibly from such wars as the Huguenots were inciting in France; and, who knows, even from the horrors of another Thirty Years' War in his own country?

The stage was set in the Netherlands for new conquest by Protestantism among the people. Not alone did Baius serve their ends, but the writings of Erasmus (who had

no intention to support the Lutherans, yet had long failed to come into the open) were utilized to mislead the intellectuals and the nobles. That is always the pattern! Bore within the universities; beguile the unwary; capture the educated; popularize their teachings; egg on the mob with slogans and promises! They will finish the work!

The nobles had formed themselves into a powerful confederacy, known as the *Gueux,* a year before Pius V came to the throne. The name "beggars" was applied to them as a term of derision.[1] This they adopted effectively. Their avowed purpose was to resist the introduction of the Inquisition in the Lowlands. These men had everything to gain and much to lose if their aims succeeded or failed. Their morals were anything but pure. The carousing, lustful character of the aristocracy in the Netherlands has been immortalized to us in the vivid paintings of the period. Drunkenness, unbridled license, and gluttony ran riot. Banquet tables groaning with the richest meats, fruits, and wines are served up by jewel-bedecked and velvet-gowned ladies to satisfy their guests' Gargantuan appetites. Such vulgar luxury without restraint must have caused the ambassadors from Italy and Spain to raise their eyebrows in contemptuous amazement and surprised disdain.

Philip II's father, Charles V, had accepted these people as they were. Though he did not share their bad manners (being conspicuous for his table etiquette in an age when,

[1] The arrogance of these Nobles when in conference with Margaret of Parma, the governess-general, caused one of her companions to say: "Don't be afraid of those beggars!" This name stuck, and the Nobles of the League from then on appeared in shoddy clothes, with knapsacks on their shoulders, and wooden bowls hanging from their belts, carrying cudgels and wearing foxtails on their caps. They had an emblem painted on banners, showing the "beggars" with hands shackled and the derisive motto: "Long live the King, even to beggary!" Their numbers increased, and soon riots were staged in many provinces.

in England and the north of Europe, civilized niceties were scarcely known), he nevertheless understood the people of the Lowlands, being himself half Netherlander. He was a diplomat who could accommodate himself to alien customs. He was discreet and personable. Philip II could not thus unbend. A proud Spaniard, he despised vulgar display. When his father resigned the reins of government, Philip's patrimony, including the Duchy of Milan, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Lowlands, were to him so many "possessions" which he must administer for the good of Christendom. The suavity and amiability of Charles were succeeded by Philip's rigid exterior and rigorous absolutism. The Netherlanders did not like him, nor did they welcome his half-sister, the governess-general, Margaret of Parma, who showed herself incapable of government and inept in crises. To make the policies of Philip successful with such a people, a strong local governor was sorely needed. Under Charles, Margaret might have served.

But the times had also changed since Charles' departure from the scene of action! The Netherlanders had always been liberty loving; and yet they had acceded to Charles' demands for money to carry forward his wars against France and the Turks because he gave them the privilege of *granting* subsidies. Like the Australians, who resisted conscription of men in the First World War, the Netherlanders of the sixteenth century resisted conscription of their wealth; and, like the twentieth-century Australians, they then freely gave what could not be wrested from them! Their money was indeed one of the chief sources of revenue for Charles' wars; for in that day of "despotism," armies had to be bought with cold cash; and if it were not forthcoming, the mercenaries plundered the land or revolted and refused to fight. For monarchs in those benighted days never dreamed of the modern "dem-

ocratic" expedient of conscription of whole populations.

For a long time Philip II had delayed in withdrawing the detested Spanish soldiery, which he had definitely promised the Netherlanders he would do when Charles handed over the government of this land to him. But even more irritating to the Lowlanders, after this removal had been finally accomplished, was the added number of bishoprics which Pius IV had arranged in accordance with Philip's recommendation. These, indeed, were sadly needed, and were a check and a prop to assist the spiritual life of the people; but the reform had a political fly in the ointment. For, in its application, Philip had the right of nomination in fourteen bishoprics. The endowments of these new bishoprics gave to the government many subservient votes, since the clergy were an important element of the states. Cardinal Granvelle, whose loyalty Pius V sorely needed and frequently questioned, was instrumental in creating this condition so favorable to Philip. Naturally this limitation of the old bishoprics was opposed by those prelates whose important territories were to be cut up and whose benefices were to be redistributed. Not only did the bishops of Utrecht, Tournai, Liege, and Cambrai raise an outcry, but even the archbishop of Cologne and the archbishop of Rheims, Cardinal Guise, stormed the curia with strong protests. The claim that their jurisdictional interests were infringed upon was undoubtedly true; but this charge did not cancel the spiritual needs of the dioceses. All this occurred under the pontificate of Pius IV who, after an investigation, gave indemnification to the bishops who had lost by the new arrangement so pleasing to Philip II.

The aristocracy of the Netherlands fiercely opposed the new arrangement, for they saw in it the further extension of royal power which made it hard for the sons of the

nobility to obtain bishoprics and canonries. This material consideration drew the bishops on the side of the aristocracy who claimed that the erection of new bishoprics was for the purpose of introducing the Inquisition.[2] But this ostensible reason for opposing the new alignment of the bishoprics was used most effectively to enlist the masses on the side of the nobles; for they hated the Inquisition like poison.

Conspicuous among the nobles of the Netherlands was William, Prince of Orange. He was a Machiavellian politician *par excellence*. Ambitious, cool in crises, intellectual, hypocritical and double-dealing, unmoral, and licentious, he served one master — himself! Until he was eleven, he had been trained as a Lutheran; but to obtain the wealth of his cousin René, he had to become a Catholic in accordance with the terms of the will. So he was instructed in the teachings of Erasmus. But religion was never a conviction or a check with him. It was a lever to promote his worldly interests. He used it as a fulcrum to play one ruler against another. He made definite promises of opposite courses of action to opposing factions with a facility which is most amazing for its complete shamelessness! In 1561, upon the eve of his marriage to the daughter of Maurice of Saxony, he promised Philip that Anne should profess the Catholic faith, and that she should live a good Catholic life; while at the same time he assured the Elector Augustus of his own secret preference for Protestantism, which "for reasons of policy" he could not make public. His wife should live in her Lutheran faith, and the children of the marriage should be brought up Protestants. But his hypocrisy is revealed even more brazenly when he reassures Pope Pius IV that he

[2] This, Pastor maintains, was altogether untrue.

will "extirpate the dread pest of heresy" in his principality of Orange, and that he had already so informed his officials. For five years he kept up this pretense — or as long as it served his interest. Letters preserved in the Barberini Library in Rome reveal what he wrote to Pius V in 1566. The first is dated May the thirteenth, in which he declares, "It is my desire and intention to be all my life the very humble and obedient son of the Church and of the Holy See, and to persevere, as my ancestors did, in that intention, devotion, and obedience." Less than a month later he wrote the second letter in which he explicitly promised Pius that he would spare no pains to preserve the ancient Catholic religion in his principality of Orange, as in the past (!). Yet, in the fall of the same year, he confided to William of Hesse that always at heart he had held and professed the Confession of Augsburg! Such was the true character of this most despicable leader of Protestantism whom conscienceless historians have made into a veritable hero and model for youth to admire and emulate!

While Philip was rejoicing over the birth of his daughter, Princess Isabel Clara Eugenia, by his third wife, the lovely Isabel, word reached him from one of his most trusted informants in the Netherlands, Alonso del Canto, that "seven men of the league [Gueux], seeing they could not move the people . . . have had evil preachers brought from France and Geneva whom they have scattered through all the country, and who have persuaded people to go and hear sermons, so now one sees troops of people leaving every town to hear preaching in French and Flemish. They preach liberty and urge the people to take up arms." Canto begged the king to send the duke of Alba.

It was at Antwerp and Brussels that outbreaks began. It is estimated that fifteen thousand a day listened to

Protestant sermons in Antwerp. In Brussels the malcontents and agitators filled the streets at night, singing the psalms of David and shouting, *"Vivent les Gueux!"* In Brabant they were scattering printed leaflets, urging the deposition and exile of the regent, Margaret. In these broadsheets the obscenities were profuse. "Chase her out and hand her over to the devil," they demanded.

Thirty members of the Gueux were sent to Antwerp, to Malines, to Ghent, and to other centers for the purpose of inciting the people to resist the Inquisition which Philip had already decided to abandon, pending the establishment of the new bishoprics; and to authorize Margaret to grant a general amnesty – so wrote de Requesens in Rome.[3] These men circulated the wildest tales (intended to provoke the people to revolt) of how Philip meant to confiscate their property and burn the heretics; and they invented all kinds of cruelties which they insisted would be inflicted upon the populace. They sent commissars to Geneva to ask for Flemish, French, and German preachers, promising to pay them well and to protect them. These commissars went first to Admiral Coligny at Châtillon, where they were received at his chateau and were given letters to Theodore Beza, the dictator at Geneva after Calvin's death. This man, an ardent Freemason, gave them all they asked. He told them "to kill and plunder all the Papists," and promised to come in person to see them. This he did, according to Fray Lorenzo Villavincencio, who sent the report to Philip; and who said "I myself have seen Beza in Flanders."

Among the malcontents were many Anabaptists who were openly practising polygamy and secretly murdering their wives in the woods when they tired of them. These

[3] On August 9, 1566.

"ministers" taught that it is right to kill and rob Catholics. Such stories sound fantastic to modern ears, perhaps; but to anyone familiar with the doleful tale of the Münster orgies, where unspeakable deeds were committed by crazed fanatics (whose passions were unleashed by the logical application of Luther's Doctrine of Justification by Faith, and caused such wholesale debaucheries that Luther was terrified into condemning the fruits of the seeds he had planted) they are found to be only too true.

Now, once more, the enemies of the Church employed the strangely familiar technique which, even in our own day, we have seen practised in communist-controlled "Republican Spain." It was the fifteenth day of August. While the faithful were celebrating the Assumption of Our Lady and singing the *Salve, Regina* at vespers in the Cathedral of Antwerp, a band of Calvinists broke in upon their devotions and proceeded to wreck one of the loveliest churches in Europe to the tune of lusty psalm singing! With exact precision, as if each one had previously been assigned his especial task, they methodically tore down the statue of the Virgin and destroyed all the priceless pictures, stained glass and tapestries, and other treasures of peerless value. They then invaded all the other churches, convents, and monasteries, ruthlessly sacking them and stealing all the precious religious objects of gold and silver, after desecrating and profaning them. Priests, monks, and nuns fled in terror. For nine long hours this pillage kept up until the wreckage of destruction lay in heaps upon the floors — the decapitated statues of saints, daubed and slashed paintings by great masters,[4]

[4] This may account for the scarcity of original Van Eycks and for their fabulous value today! Hundreds of manuscripts and precious volumes were destroyed in the libraries and the value of the paintings is estimated at over 400,000 ducats.

smashed stain-glass windows of untold value which the guilds had once vied with one another in presenting to the Houses of God. All this in the name of liberty, and out of hatred of Philip II and the Pope of Christendom and the Catholic Church, the greatest civilizing influence that Europe had ever known!

Protestant writers of history have a strange way of facilely passing over these outrages, as our contemporary propagandists did regarding similar deliberate acts preceding the civil war in Spain[5] (1930–1936) which brought about the armed reaction of Franco and the victory of the Nationalists; and as even today our journalists ignore the long-continued atrocities of Soviet Russia committed by a God-hating generation of atheists indoctrinated with anti-religious propaganda.

Such outrages were justified by sixteenth-century propagandists as the inevitable growing pains of a liberty-loving people! Clough, faithful man of the banker, Sir Thomas Gresham, sent a report to his master which depicts the scenes he had witnessed. While he describes the frenzied

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[5] How closely the spoliation of the churches in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century resembles the devastation of Spanish churches in the twentieth, can be clearly seen by a study of the pictures taken by the magazine's photographic staff and presented to the world by *L'Illustration*, issue of January, 1938, under the caption *Le Martyre des Oeuvres D'Art* (*Guerre Civile en Espagne*), a copy of which the author has in her possession. These photographs were taken at the sites of five hundred churches in fourteen provinces covering every section of the country. In the *Foreword* the publishers state that "these works of art . . . have been subjected to their present condition by a deliberate ceremony, systematic, without any military necessity, far from the zones of combat, and when the republican governors were on the spot. . . . The vandals did not let loose a spontaneous or inconsidered frenzy. They were obeying orders received from the local soviet committees who had been substituted for the regular authorities. These same . . . obeyed the instructions of the Communistic Internationale, etc., etc." (trans. by the author.)

These priceless works of art, whose ghastly destruction is a loss, not only to Spain, but "to the patrimony of universal civilization," can never be replaced.

mob marching through the streets shouting, "*Vivent les Gueux!*" he at the same time exonerates the Protestants and declares the work was done by a gang of paid wreckers and vagabonds among whom he recognized some English criminals. Although he pictures Lady Church as "a hell" where even the sepulchers of the saints were opened and their bones strewn about, he shields the *real perpetrators* of these foul deeds by fixing the blame on the vile dupes who only executed the commands of the higher-ups. Nevertheless the Calvinists suffered a loss of prestige among the people who now saw whither their teachings had led the mob. It is significant that on the very morning of the outrage, William of Orange was leaving Antwerp, and remained away during the violence.

In all, more than four hundred churches were wrecked and despoiled in the Netherlands by those who claimed a purer religion. Margaret of Parma was frantic. She wrote to Philip that the destruction continued daily. It is patent, she said, that "it is not 'freedom of religion' the Calvinists want, but freedom for all religion but the Catholic."

It is small wonder that Pius V, when the reports began to seep through to the Vatican, suddenly and without waiting for Philip's approval, sent to the court of Madrid his ambassador-extraordinary to plead with Philip, "by the blood of Christ," not to postpone his journey to the Lowlands! For he saw the conflagration spreading daily all over Europe, and his fear that the object of the ringleaders was an international conspiracy was no groundless imagining on his part. The exhaustive research of Walsh in his *Philip II* substantiates this papal fear. Such a conspiracy was already brewing in Europe. The plan was to provoke a general revolution in Europe to dethrone sovereigns, ruin the House of Austria, and create a condition

which would bring about the same chaotic results in France and England and wherever the dissident elements were strong enough; and the focus of attack was the Catholic Church.

Pius V did not urge an armed force. He wanted Philip to exhaust every pacific means at his disposal as legal sovereign of the Netherlands to bring the populace back to reason and sanity, even to luring them by any legitimate concessions that he could in conscience make. The vast body of any country is always amenable to such methods, if only they can be contacted. It is the disorderly dissident minority, strong, well-organized, unscrupulous, willing to resort to any slanders (Pius V had said that "slanderers should be treated as murderers" since they assassinated what is, to a decent man, more precious than life itself – his good name) and unchecked by any moral considerations.

But precious days passed into weeks and weeks into months, and still Philip hesitated. Philip's postponement made a far more drastic course necessary in dealing with the rebels in the Lowlands. For the malcontents took heart by his procrastination and continued their assaults, becoming bolder in their schemes. Pius was so disappointed about Philip's indecision that he complained to de Requesens that the Spanish king had deceived him. Philip should trust in God and risk his own life if necessary for the defense of religion and the Church.

Because he was so distraught by Philip's final abandonment of the journey, it is no wonder that the Pope welcomed the sending of Alba to the Netherlands to put down the rebellion. The duke, a typical Spanish Grandee, was a man of blood and steel. So Antonio Moro[6] presents

[6] His famous painting of Alba is in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

him to us. He could at least be relied upon to suppress the uprising. Feared and hated in the Lowlands, his departure was welcomed by his rival party at the Spanish court, headed by Ruy Gomez. Neither Alba nor Philip wished to send an army to Geneva en route to the Netherlands, a plan which Pius wanted Alba to pursue; feeling, no doubt, that from that center the roots of dissension were spreading all over the continent. However, it was not a religious crusade that Philip was organizing, but purely a political one conducted in his capacity as legal sovereign. He expressly sent Alba (a full year after the Iconoclasts had expressed their sentiments against the Church in so ghastly a manner) with a strong army of picked troops for the purpose of abolishing all privileges, substituting royal officials for local civil authorities, building fortresses at Amsterdam, Flushing, Antwerp, and Maestricht, confiscating the property of the rebels, and imposing heavy taxes. For such a policy the king of Spain chose the right man.

Instead of punishing the ringleaders of the revolt, as Pius V recommended, and dealing kindly and generously with those who had been deceived into something they had not foreseen and did not sanction, of winning back these innocent offenders who had already repented of their alliance with ruthless self-seeking men of Orange's type, Alba's method of harsh suppression of all political liberty forced even Catholics into the enemy's camp. The Spanish soldiers drove the people to desperation. The regent left the country as the rebels had demanded. But instead of her conciliatory methods, the Netherlanders now had an extraordinary council, which the people called "The Council of Blood." Legal proceedings had begun against Orange and his confederates who had all fled to Germany where he was now openly espousing Lutheranism. There

were wholesale executions and thousands fled in terror from such a fate. Their property was confiscated. Orange and his brother Louis of Nassau raised an army in Germany, hoping for aid from the French Huguenots and from Elizabeth, queen of England, with whom they were in close touch. Alba took his revenge upon Counts Egmont and Hoorn whom he had arrested; and whom now he executed. He easily defeated Louis on the Ems river and then turned against William who was trying to force his arms along the Meuse into the Low Countries. Displaying great military skill, Alba out-maneuvered Orange whose army scattered in the wildest disorder. Orange fled to Dillenburg and tried to reorganize the *sea-gueux* along the coast. Alba was so completely triumphant that Elizabeth, who always liked to be on the winning side, wrote a congratulatory letter to Philip on his victory over the rebels! Although Alba's victory seemed now complete, he did not abate his fury. As Morillon wrote in retrospect to Granvelle on April twenty-eighth, 1572, it was Alba's policy *"a tout reduire au pied d'Espange,"* – to bring all into submission to Spain.

The bishops took up the cause of the people against Alba's severity in taxing them beyond justice; and the Jesuits incurred his ire by embracing the cause of the poor. His rule was a military dictatorship. At Rome the Holy See and the pontiff were deceived by the reports Alba was sending to Pius. One would have thought the religious issues were the only consideration with the dictator. Since the Pope had been deprived of a nuncio in the Lowlands, the pontiff's sole source of information came from Spain; and consequently Pius was strongly under Spanish influence in forming his judgments of affairs in the Netherlands under Alba's stern rule. For Alba was careful to make his expedition appear to papal eyes as a

kind of religious crusade. Pius was forced to the inference that it was a question of survival or nonsurvival for Catholics in the Lowlands, especially as he had received a report from a Dominican brother who was living in Brussels of the ghastly details of the murder by Calvinists of twenty-five priests in Ypres. This report fitted in perfectly with Alba's accounts, and seemed to justify his harsh methods. Furthermore, Maximilian II was backing up the insurgents under William – and all knew that monarch's leanings. Pius feared also the annihilation of the Catholics in the Netherlands if Louis of Nassau, leading the *sea-gueux,* and William of Orange, whose army was made up of Lutherans, French Huguenots, and Calvinists from Geneva and the Lowlands, should prevail. Indeed Louis' army had already shown its stripe by looting the churches and killing the priests. Naturally, with such a set-up, Pius believed that Alba was fighting God's battle against anti-Christ!

On August the fourth, just two years after the Iconoclasts had done their work of fiendish destruction, Alba proclaimed his victory over Louis of Nassau, and Pius ordered prayers and processions; and on the twenty-ninth, he himself made the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches to pray for the protection of religion in the Lowlands; and again in October he repeated this pilgrimage and prayed for Alba's success. On November eighteenth he published a Jubilee and prayed for the destruction of the Church's enemies, in the spirit of the ancient prophet who cried out, "Scatter our enemies, O Lord!" and in the words of the Church's prayer to his patron, Saint Michael, he cried: "Saint Michael, the Archangel, defend us in battle; be our protection against the wickedness and snares of the devil. Rebuke him, O God, we suppliantly beseech Thee. . . ."

Pius rewarded Alba for the preservation of the Catholic religion in the Netherlands with the blessed hat and sword; and he bestowed the Golden Rose upon his wife. But, together with many prominent ecclesiastics, the Holy Father urged a general amnesty, in order to temper justice with mercy. He even gave the papal faculties for easing the return to the Church of those who repented. This document Philip approved, while delaying until November, 1569, to issue his order for a general amnesty. Alba did not publish either the king's decree or the papal bull until July, 1570! Perhaps he felt he was better equipped to judge of the opportuness of publishing both these documents than was Pius or Philip, since he was on the ground and was more familiar with the temper of the recalcitrant Lowlanders.

Pius received substantial help from the duke in the reorganization of the dioceses. Philip had refused to permit a bishopric in Antwerp and, for his agreement with the opponents of this very salutary ecclesiastical need, he has received a substantial monetary recompense. Now Alba came to the Pope's aid; but he delayed its application for a time, fearing the uproar his taxation policy was causing. Finally he gave the necessary *placet* for the publication of the papal bull.

The new bishops had been appointed with the greatest care. Only those who could be trusted to carry out the Council of Trent's decrees were chosen. But the hatred felt for Alba was transferred to the bishops, who, in the popular mind, represented the despotic power of Alba and Philip. Yet, in fact, the bishops were their best friends at court; for they constantly recommended leniency and merciful treatment to Alba who felt they were meddling with matters with which they were unfamiliar. On the other hand Alba was completely in accord with the caesaro-

papist views of the king, who never seemed able to free himself from the antiquated privileges inherited from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella as a concession by Alexander VI; and, which not only no longer applied, but were positively injurious to his own sovereign rights; for a system of violence (which the bishops sought vainly to temper with mercy) was a most potent weapon in the hands of William, the *sea-gueux,* and the Calvinists, since it aroused the discontent and opposition of all those elements who played into the hands of the selfish leaders. Furthermore, because of this stubborn resistance of Philip and of Alba, Pius was forced again, by the exigencies of the situation, to rely upon Alba's strong arm for what protection Catholicism should enjoy in the Netherlands. His position must have been galling to a pontiff of such uncompromising principles and so sensitive a conscience as was Pius V!

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PIUS V WRESTLES WITH RECALCITRANT FRANCE

IN SCRUTINIZING the numerous portraits of Pius V one sees the aging frame stooped — like that of Atlas — with the weight of the world's care, but the keen peering eyes reveal a mind alert and active, and a will of indomitable courage. From behind the gaunt ascetic features there shines a flame of ardent zeal. The long years of monastic life as a son of Saint Dominic had molded and refined his character like a sword of tempered steel. All the dross had been purged from him in a crucible of fire. He was a man free from corroding passions which dominate and often wreck the lifework of men of affairs. He appeared to his contemporaries to be pure spirit.

Pius V had a three-fold labor to perform as pontiff of Christendom: to fight for the purification of the Church of which he was the responsible head, to keep Europe Catholic and united against the Turk, and to save men's souls. To these ends he devoted every ounce of his strength, and he daily crucified his frail body. For, like all the saints, he atoned by bodily mortification for the sins of the world. Freely he offered up his sufferings on the altar of his God in expiation for the indifferences, blasphemies, and crimes of a callous world. Daily he walked with his Master, Christ, listening to His commands and praying

for His counsel. During the six long years of his crowded pontificate he performed feats of titanic heroism. He was ever a valiant soldier of the Church Militant.

There was not a country in Europe with which Pius did not keep in close contact, and for which he did not incessantly pray and labor. The vast majority of the people on the Continent were still Catholic, although they were rent asunder by powerful minorities, who, moved by selfish ambition or deluded by short-sighted vision, sought to destroy the religion that had made Europe what it was. Every nation was infected by the new virus of revolt against established authority. Many abuses within the Church, such as the laxity of the Renaissance pontiffs and the upper clergy, had contributed to this sad state of affairs. The remedies of the worst evils had already been applied and the Council of Trent provided adequate means for further corrections. Such a pontiff as Pius V, who dedicated the years of his pontificate to the enforcement of the council's decrees, was the providential agent for the task of true reformation.

Urban France, as always, was in the vanguard of revolt; for city dwellers are easily aroused to reckless enterprise, and too often, like the ancient Athenians, spend their leisure in either telling or in hearing some new thing. After the death of the boy king, Francis II, on December fifth, 1560, Mary Stuart, his child-wife, became a nobody at the French court; and the influence of her uncles, the Guises, who represented the Catholic party, was greatly diminished. The next in succession to the throne of his father, Henry II,[1] was the brother of Francis II whose untimely death at the age of sixteen resulted in the queen mother's ascendency as regent for her ten-year-old son, Charles IX.

[1] Henry II had died as the result of an injury in the jousting bout held in celebration of the wedding of his daughter Ysabel to Philip II of Spain.

The weak-minded Charles was putty in his mother's hands.

Catherine de'Medici had been brought up on the pagan political philosophy of Machiavelli who had dedicated his immoral gospel of government, *Il Principe,* to her father, Duke Cosimo de'Medici. Ever since her departure from Florence to marry the French King Henry II, Catherine had been a disappointed woman who had belatedly borne ten children in rapid succession. Of these only four had survived the dread "French disease." She had become an ardent devotée of the Jewish astrologer Nostradamus who had predicted for her children great things. Now, at long last, her day had come! The cruelly frustrated, ambitious woman was now queen regent, and this descendant of the money-changers of Florence had a long-coveted power in her hands.

The Guises, the distinguished cardinal of Lorraine and his brother, Duke Francis, were the only power that had preserved France from the grasp of the prince of Condé, Louis de Bourbon, who, prior to Catherine's ascendency, had initiated an intrigue which assumed international scope. Barry, lord of La Renaudie, was Condé's man who was entrusted with the execution of the plan, which as Calvin later said, "was inconsidered and badly executed," although he had been "in" on the plot which included, among other traitorous schemes, an uprising of the Moriscos in Spain. King Anthony of Navarre, uncle of the prince of Condé, was also implicated. But, as so often happens when thieves fall out and the different factions take to quarreling among themselves, the conspiracy leaked out. Mary Stuart and Francis II had been slated for assassination, it was revealed. When Margaret of Parma became cognizant of what was brewing in the Calvinist conspiratorial meetings held in Switzerland, she wrote to Cardinal Granvelle who apprized the Cardinal of

Lorraine of the plot. His brother, Duke Francis, acted with characteristic energy. Knowing that the Blois chateau, where the young king and queen were holding court, could not be defended against the assembled force of the conspirators (it was stated that 40,000 men were under arms, but this is perhaps an exaggeration), Duke Francis secretly conducted the royal party to the more strongly fortified castle of Amboise which is situated on the Loire. From this castle Catherine sent for Admiral Coligny (who, like his cousin Condé, was known as a Huguenot), informing him that she feared an attack upon the French fleet.

The Protestants under La Renaudie were advancing against Amboise but were intercepted by the Guise forces, and were easily defeated. La Renaudie was killed in battle. Many arrests, attended by confessions, brought the conspiracy to a temporary halt. The Duke of Guise was again "the savior of France."[2] The Huguenots had received a decided setback. But this frustration of the uprising, which is known as *The Tumult of Amboise,* was but the lull after the dress rehearsal, and was followed by eight Huguenot wars which almost destroyed France. When Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth's representative at the French court, came to Amboise, the Cardinal of Lorraine took him into the presence of Mary Stuart and Coligny and his brother, the Cardinal of Châtillon, openly accusing him of implication in the conspiracy. As for Condé, even so unprejudiced an authority as the historian Guizot declares that the proofs against him are beyond dispute.

In spite of this temporary triumph by the Catholic party, Michel de l'Hôpital (who had impressed Catherine and even the Cardinal of Lorraine as a sincere Catholic)

[2] The first time he was so hailed was when he recaptured Calais for France.

was made chancellor, and thus an entering wedge was provided the Huguenots for the free promulgation of their subversive propaganda; for he at once obtained from Catherine under the specious plea for unity and freedom, the *Edict of Toleration.* By the release of Condé, who had been arrested and condemned to death at Orleans, L'Hôpital set at large the most dangerous and unscrupulous enemy of a united Catholic France.[3] These unwise moves by the queen regent were due to her dread of the prestige of the House of Lorraine which she feared would supersede her own influence over the young King Charles IX.

Throughout her reign as queen regent, Catherine played one party against the other; cleverly using now the Catholics, now the Huguenots, to further her own dynastic designs. Her religion, such as it was, was purely traditional and hereditary. Convictions she had none. This apt pupil of Machiavelli was a thorn in the flesh of Pius V whose policy was diametrically opposed to hers. With all his soul Pius was dedicated to the preservation of the Catholic religion in a staggering Europe. Everything else was subservient to his consuming zeal for the Church of Christ. No country on the continent caused him more

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[3] Thus it was the *political aspects* of the Huguenot movement which were successful in France where not one thirtieth of the common people were susceptible to Calvinism. Although one third of the nobility were Huguenots, the French people clung to their ancient faith; so that France, which never had an Inquisition, has yet remained Catholic. In the Lowlands, where the spirit of freedom has always been strong, Belgium today is almost wholly Catholic; and in Holland more than one third of the inhabitants is aggressively Catholic; and even in Germany one third of the people is heroically maintaining its Catholic faith, four hundred years after the death of Luther! In England there are fewer Catholics and many fallen-away Churchgoers have become frankly atheistic; nevertheless, the ancient faith is making strong inroads throughout the country where so many prominent men and women of letters have returned to the faith of their fathers!

concern than did France where the Huguenots had gained such a foothold through the ambitious plottings of a strong and influential minority.

As early as April of 1566 Pius sent his nuncio, Count della Torre,[4] to the French court with precise and detailed instructions to publish and enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Pope made it clear that he could not create any new French cardinals until the scandal of Cardinal Odet de Châtillon be removed. This disgraceful prelate was a heretic who had violated his priestly vows. Yet this so-called "Cardinal" continued to wear the purple he had been given by the Medicean Pope, Clement VII. Living in luxury with his mistress, Ysabel de Hauteville, the patron of Ronsard and Rabelais, he was a scandal to the Church and an odious butt of the poor. Like so many other ex-prelates who loudly expostulated against abuses in the Church after they had been repudiated and expelled from her councils, he exemplified in his own person the very abuses he was now "exposing!"

Della Torre was also instructed by the pontiff to achieve the correction of the indiscriminate bestowing of benefices which were openly bought and sold – even to women and to Protestants! – especially in Brittany and Provence. The Bishop of Avignon, in whose diocese heresy was spreading like a plague, was also to be investigated by the papal legate.

Prior to the departure of the nuncio, Pius had dispatched earnest supplications to the French court, addressing himself to Charles, to Catherine, and to the French bishops. In these letters he begged the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent, the removal

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[4] Della Torre had been nuncio under Paul III and under Julius III, and was thoroughly acquainted with the French Court. He was liked by Catherine, and was familiar with the Gallican abuses.

of abuses in regard to ecclesiastical benefices, the duty of residence, and the erection of seminaries.

All these wise and needful recommendations enumerated in the papal instructions were ignored with the exception of the translation of the Roman catechism into French and the issuance of Pius's demands regarding episcopal residence. Two months later Pius wrote to Catherine complaining that she had surrounded herself with heretics. He protested that she must justify herself by more than suave words, which, to mean anything, must be backed up by her Catholic conduct. This had the effect of the arrival in Rome of Cardinal de Tournon who came to make his *obedientia* to the Pope. To show his personal good will to the royal family, Pius sent presents of lapis lazuli rosaries to each member, but he was not deceived nor did he relax his vigilance. For he knew that more than three-fourths of the queen's council was made up of Huguenots. In the spring of 1567 Pius was terribly concerned on learning from Cardinal Santa Croce and de Requesens that the queen's advisers were making overtures to marry the weak-minded Charles to a Lutheran princess.[5]

Protesting against the coddling of heresy by the French government in the name and under the guise of Gallican liberties, Pius in consistory deprived of their dignities six of the bishops who had been accused of heresy. The bishop of Aix resigned, but all the others, protected by Catherine and the queen of Navarre,[6] simply ignored the papal demands.

In spite of Catherine's *Edict of Toleration,* the clauses

[5] Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II.

[6] Jeanne d'Albert, daughter of the talented and immoral Marguerite of Angoulême, and granddaughter of the infamous Louise of Savoy, was the wife of King Anthony of Navarre, who with his nephew, the Prince of Condé, was so active in the *Tumult of Amboise* which initiated the

of which neither party respected, the Huguenots were not satisfied. They wanted something more tangible than mere toleration. They aimed at seizing the royal power and becoming strongly entrenched in the government of France. The occasion which offered them their opportunity was Alba's march into the Low Countries. They tried to get supreme command of the army, hoping then to declare war on Philip II, although the king of Spain had carefully avoided every snare to create an incident. Philip was determined not to interfere in the domestic affairs of France. But to the queen mother, who could not abide domination by anyone, this loss of power to the Huguenot leaders could not be countenanced. When the Huguenots found themselves thwarted in this play for power, and outwitted by the shrewd Catherine and the wary Philip, who would not provide the coveted incident, they shifted their allegiance and hopes to England and the Prince of Orange.

This time their plot was not discovered until it was too late. In September of 1567, while the royal family was holding court at Monceaux, they seized the queen mother and king. Although the queen had been warned that a Huguenot uprising was imminent, neither she nor her Chancellor l'Hôpital believed the Huguenots would go to such lengths against the very friends who had pro-

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Huguenot wars. The Queen of Navarre came honestly by her Protestant sentiments, for her mother, Marguerite of Navarre, and a coterie of friends made up of Gabrielle d'Estampes, the mistress of her royal brother, Francis I, and her cousin Renée of France and Duchess of Ferrara, had "mothered the reformation" in Navarre. It was at the court of Marguerite that Anne Boleyn imbibed her pagan views and Protestant leanings which she brought to England with her. In Marguerite's court, too, was Louise of Montmorency, who married General Coligny the elder, whose children she secretly brought up in the Protestant faith. One of her four sons, Odet, became the renegade "Cardinal" we have described. Although he never became a priest, he yet voted at two papal conclaves! Admiral Coligny was another of her sons.

tected and appeased them with preferments and power. By a miracle, the royal family escaped the enemies' clutches. Guarded by six thousand Swiss soldiers, they reached Paris on the twenty-ninth. France was once more in the throes of a religious war. Catholics trembled. All over the provinces the Huguenots rose in revolt. The king was locked up in his palace-prison. On St. Michel's Day (September 29, 1567) at Nîmes, the Huguenots killed eighty of the most prominent Catholics and threw their mangled bodies into a well.

Both sides sought allies wherever they could find them. Rucellai was sent to Rome as ambassador-extraordinary to beg the Pope for help. This Pius promptly gave for the defense of the faith; but at the same time he strongly remonstrated that he had repeatedly warned the royal family what they might expect at the hands of the enemies they were harboring. And he wrote the queen mother that the time was now favorable to rid her court of the Huguenots who, as he had so often foretold, had proved themselves spies and rebels. Pius strongly advised her not to trust l'Hôpital nor Montmorency; and to recall Cardinal Guise, whom she had dismissed. In spite of her previous ignoring of the Pope's salutary advice, Pius now offered her three thousand infantry, and later doubled the number. To meet the financial needs of France he raised large sums — to be sent on condition that Catherine should not come to terms with the rebel heretics. The Pope taxed religious houses in all parts of Italy; and he wrote letters appealing for the sinews of war to Philip II, Duke Nevers, to Ludovico Gonzaga in Piedmont, and to Duke Emanuele Filberto of Savoy. He dispatched Cardinal Piersanti to Lorraine to see that the frontier should be closed against the army of John Casimir, the Calvinist elector-palatine, who, he was informed, was coming to the aid

of the Huguenots. In the papal letters to the governors of the states of Italy, appealing for financial aid, the pontiff described the outbreaks all over France, and the danger to Catholicism not only in France, but in the neighboring states as well, if there should be a Huguenot victory. For it was evident, as Pius V well knew, that an international conspiracy was afoot which embraced England, the Low Countries, Germany, and even Italy and Spain. The bishop of Narni, Pietro Donato Gesi, traveled all over Italy with papal instructions to urge generous assistance to embattled France.

It was not only with material aid that Pius V responded to the frantic French appeal. More than upon mere bodily arms, he relied upon Eternal Justice and the invisible sword of the Spirit. Instant in prayer, he took part in three processions, walking all the way from St. Peter's to Santa Maria sopra Minerva on the first day; to San Girolamo degli Spagnuoli on the second; and on the third day to San Luigi dé Francesi. Because he believed that faith without works is dead, neither did he neglect the material assistance at his disposal. In this he acted in the best tradition of the great statesmen-pontiffs, protecting with every legitimate means at hand the things of Christ. His foresight showed him to be a man of resources and a Pope of whom it truly could be said that he was motivated by the most practical spirituality. If his advice had been followed before the enemies of the Church had gained such ascendency, his problem would have been simpler. Now it became a contest against time and well-organized forces. Yet he fought on doggedly, with every weapon at his command.

So great was the Holy Father's concern lest Catherine should offer disastrous terms to the enemy, that he wrote on Christmas Day to his nuncio, della Torre in Paris, to

watch closely every move of the queen's that might circumvent and destroy the aid Pius was raising for the preservation of the faith in France; for, said he, Catherine never acted for the greater glory of God, but solely for her own aggrandizement; she never put unfaltering trust in God, but relied rather upon her own wit and the double-dealing Machiavellian policies she had mastered. (This papal estimate of the French queen was shared by Castagna at the Madrid court.) Since the queen withheld the desired promise of not coming to terms with the rebel heretics, Pius V delayed sending her the sinews of war he had collected, in spite of urgent letters both from Catherine and from Charles.

After a desultory war, a peace was concluded which was most disquieting to Pius. This *Peace of Longjumeau* gave the Huguenots a renewal of the *Edict of Amboise* which was so favorable to them. Its provisions were not kept by either side. The Huguenots never complied with the promise to return to the French throne the cities they held. But, even though Catherine tried to establish a balance of power, playing off first one party, then another; the French people had remained loyally Catholic, and were thoroughly aroused by constant acts of violence committed by the Protestant party. Aided by the clergy and the Catholic nobles, strong resistance was organized for the preservation of their faith.

At long last Catherine and Charles were forced to recognize that their policy of opposition to the Guises and the Catholic party was harmful for their tenure of power. They came out openly against the Huguenots and reinstated Cardinal Guise. They dismissed their Chancellor l'Hôpital, who had collaborated with them in a program of compromise. At once Pius V consented to the sale of ecclesiastical property which had come into the hands of

the French Bishop of Le Mans who had succeeded de Tournon as ambassador; but the Pope made the proviso that the money should be kept in trust and applied only to the defense of the realm.

Hostilities broke out once more; and in August Condé and Coligny were almost captured at Noyers where, in conjunction with William of Orange, they were trying to establish a Protestant nucleus; or, as we would say today, a "cell." But they escaped to La Rochelle where they were reinforced by strong Huguenot contingents from all over France.

The royal family was sufficiently aroused to issue another edict in September which declared that hereafter all worship except the Catholic was banned; and that Protestant preachers must leave the realm within two weeks. Refusal to comply would mean death and confiscation of property. Such a forthright stand by the French government came as a joyful surprise to the pontiff of Rome. On August the first, 1568, he sent a papal bull to the new nuncio, Frangipani, Bishop of Cajazzo, to be read to the French bishops.

Of course the Huguenots refused to submit to so drastic a course and the third religious war broke out with fury. As always happens when temporary truces in a prolonged conflict are broken off, the war was resumed with unparalleled ferocity. The Huguenots had used the respite to amass the reinforcements which Elizabeth of England sent in the form of ships and substantial sums of money, together with the strong force which the Lutheran duke of Deux-Ponts in the Rhineland provided. Catherine stupidly refused Spanish aid, except in driblets. She relied upon her Swiss soldiery of ten thousand infantry, and upon five thousand German cavalry. The French were led by Henry of Anjou and Marshal de Tavannes.

Weather conditions forced both sides to postpone hostilities, as the cold of the winter of 1569 was unprecedented. Fearful as Pius V was of the outcome of this third civil war, he was not yet prepared to grant money subsidies unless he was sure they would not be diverted from the war effort to other purposes. He was raising an auxiliary army to aid the French when word came of the great victory of the Catholics at Jarnac, in which battle Condé fell. This was on the thirteenth of March.

When the news reached Rome of the victory, Pius sent his congratulations to Charles; and in this missive he strongly urged the king of France to carry the victory to Navarre and thus root out the enemy in his lair. He sent letters to Catherine, to the Guises, and to the duke of Nevers, and the duke of Montpensier, urging the same course. Pius used the example of King Saul as a warning to the Catholics not to spare "the Amalekites," but to follow the command of God if they wished to be saved from his fate of losing his kingdom and his life. For constantly at Rome it was feared, and reasonably so, that the Huguenots would invade Italy and there put into effect the same program of destruction against churches, convents, priests, and nuns, which had characterized their zeal in the Lowlands.

Twelve of the Huguenots' banners which had been taken at Jarnac were sent to Pius as trophies. Among them were the white ones of the Houses of Condé and Navarre. It was in the Hall of Constantine, and amidst the entire College of Cardinals, that Pius V was presented with these emblems of victory. Tears flowed freely down his wrinkled cheeks as he expressed in trembling accents the joy he felt for this tangible evidence of the assistance God had bestowed upon the cause of religion in France. These standards were placed in the Chapel of the Kings of

France in St. Peter's Basilica, where a thanksgiving ceremony was appropriately performed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

It was not until May the fourteenth, 1569, that the papal forces, together with the Florentine army, were en route to Turin and the Gulf of Lyons, which they reached on June the second. But the scorched earth yielded no sustenance in that war-ridden area, and sickness began to deplete their numbers long before they contacted the enemy at Poitiers, where they participated in the defense of that region. Not until late in the fall of the same year (October the third) did they take part in the decisive battle of Moncontour in which they fought with valor and determination, defeating the Huguenots under Coligny who fled in confusion from the field, leaving behind them ten thousand dead.

When the tidings of this victory reached Pius V, he could not believe the reports. They were too good to be true. But when the news was confirmed beyond peradventure of doubt, the pontiff gave thanks in the Basilica of St. Peter's in the presence of all the cardinals. Bonfires lit up the Eternal City by night; for three days all the bells of Rome rang out the glad tidings of victory and the cannon of Sant'Angelo roared. The rejoicings were augmented by religious processions; from Santa Maria sopra Minerva to Santa Maria Maggiore, and from Aracoeli to San Giovanni in Laterano, and from St. Peter's to San Luigi de'Francesi, on three consecutive days in late October. Again Pius received thirty-seven Huguenot banners taken in battle before they were deposited in the Lateran. One of these banners is still to be seen in the Lateran transept. The others were walled in for protection.

Even before these ceremonies Pius had written the young king of France not to lose the fruits of this victory

by untimely abatement of attack; for, said he, "It is a mistaken policy to shield the rebels out of compassion, while the innocent are once again exposed to the redoubled wrath of the wicked." And on the occasion of sending his congratulations and the dispensation to marry Maximilian II's daughter, Elizabeth of Austria,[7] he urged the ousting of the heretical bishops of Lescar, Valence, and Chartres; and the appointment of "true bishops of sound Catholic faith." But to all these wise pleas Charles lent a deaf ear. Then Pius followed up the advice he had sent her son by reinforcing his plea with a letter to the queen mother who resented papal interference and replied that her son was old and prudent enough to know how to act without the advice of "foreign princes!"[8]

The fact of the matter was that Charles IX was jealous of the acclaim his younger brother, Henry of Anjou, was receiving for the masterly handling of his forces against the enemy at Moncontour. To satisfy his personal grudge Charles short-sightedly defied an axiom of wise military generalship, and instead of following up his victory by attacking the enemy before they could recoup their forces, he stupidly ordered a blockade and gave St-Jean-d'Angely to Coligny, while he dissipated and weakened his victorious army! Consequently Pius V ordered the Italian army to return to Rome. The Pope was frankly disheartened by the persistent royal policy of flirting with the Huguenots, which characterized both the queen mother and her son, the youthful king. More than ever Pius was on his guard against the double-dealing measures which they seemed determined to pursue toward the enemies of Catholic France. With the withdrawal from the council of the king,

[7] This marriage was consummated in November of 1570.

[8] "*. . . il Re si ritrovava in età d'autorità et con forze e prudentia di sapere governare lo stato suo da se senza havere a pigliare consiglio nè legge da principi esteri . . .*"

of Guise and de Tavannes, who were also disillusioned, the government once again fell into the hands of men who always think of their own advantage, and are utterly devoid of any consistent principles. These politicians had the ear of the young king who blindly followed their unscrupulous advice. He acted upon their peace proposals at La Rochelle, and before the beginning of the new year the Catholics who had sacrificed so much saw the fruits of their victory deliberately thrown away!

But not even Charles could retard the awakening of the people who now began to comprehend how disastrous for France the Huguenot program was. The Lutherans in Germany also were labeling the Huguenots "rebels, sacramentarians, and iconoclasts" — just "like the *Gueux* in the Netherlands, who merited nothing but annihilation." When the rumors of a proposed peace with the Huguenots reached the Holy See, Pius V wrote the French king a strong letter on January the twenty-ninth of 1570, saying in substance: Well do we know that between the French government and the Huguenots there can never be a peace favorable to Catholicism. Your country can never be safe and secure from the long, ruinous wars that never cease so long as your Majesty's policy of indecision continues, disuniting the people and ravaging the countryside. The Holy Father goes on prophetically to warn and abjure the king to cease courting the enemies of the Church; for, says he, there can never be harmony between darkness and light, and all overtures for peace are deceptive, and contain within themselves the seeds of future dissension in Christian society. Charles was recklessly blind to his own interests and to the heritage of Catholicism which had made France what she was.

To Henry of Anjou, victor on the field of Moncontour, the Pope sent the blessed sword and hat, with a letter

expressing the grief the pontiff felt over the contemplated negotiations with the enemy, which Pius now feared included an agreement with the Turks! Yet "peace" was finally concluded with the Huguenots in April, 1570. Once again the indefatigable pontiff addressed himself to Charles, to Catherine, and to Cardinal Guise and Cardinal Bourbon. Philip II was also writing in like vein to the French king. But all without avail were these Spanish supplications, for Catherine feared the king of Spain, who had undoubtedly profited by the French wars to secure his own kingdom and especially his control of the Lowlands, since a weakened France could not come to the aid of the *Gueux*.

The *Peace of St. Germain* was signed on August the eighth, 1570, which gave to the Huguenots amnesty and liberty of conscience and the freedom to practise their religion in those cities and towns where the nobles were powerful; but did not obtain in Paris or wherever the court happened to be held. For a period of two years they were given places of refuge; i.e., in La Charité, La Rochelle, Montauban, and Cognac. Thus was formed a state within a state! The most contemptible act of Charles IX was the secret treaty which was not published with the articles of peace, and which actually paid, to the tune of two million livres, for the German mercenaries who had been in the employ of the Huguenots! Small wonder that Pius V characterized this peace, dictated to the king by France's conquered enemies, as "shameful!"

In his despair Pius sent to France a papal notary, Francesco Bramante, to attempt to annul the conditions of the so-called "peace." In the instructions sent to Charles, Pius V reminded him that his ancestors had enjoyed tranquillity in their realm just so long as religious unity was preserved in the kingdom. The so-called *Peace of St. Germain*

actually destroyed that unity and if the terms of it were carried out, the ruin of France would result. How could Charles imagine that the very foes who wished to destroy the power of the king could be his friends and worthy of trust? For now all knew what had been patent to the Holy Father from the beginning of the religious wars, that it was not the reform of religion that the Huguenots sought; but rather the ruin, not only of religion, but of the state as well; for were they not even now despoiling the churches for the benefit of the rich nobles? Furthermore, at Avignon Bramante was to press for the retention of the troops for the defense of the faith in that distracted province. Pius's instructions to the papal notary urged that France join the *League against the Turks.*

But, as always, it was the dynastic ambition of Catherine and her son Charles that determined their policy. More than ever they threw in their lot with the leaders of the French Huguenots against Spain; and they continued to court the rebels in the Lowlands and Queen Elizabeth in England. His overtures with the queen mother convinced Nuncio Frangipani that Catherine had no religious scruples. He declared that she did not believe in God, and that she was surrounded with atheists. He hoped that the king might be frightened from his position by pointing out that *"the offender never pardons,"* and that the Huguenots were therefore his eternal enemies. He attempted to influence the king by threatening that if he persisted in his course the Pope would be compelled to form a league against Huguenot France! If this should fail, then the Catholic nobles would form a league among themselves, exactly as the Huguenots had done. If the proper leadership were found, France might yet be saved.

Papal fears were aggravated by the proposals of marriage which the queen mother was fostering for her chil-

dren. It was her design to marry her son, Henry of Anjou, to Elizabeth, a project which the wily queen of England kept dangling for years and which she toyed with enjoyably, urged on by Cecil who said he visioned "the fall of the papacy." (This would mean the utter ruin of Mary Stuart and all English Catholics.) Marguerite was to marry Henry of Navarre.

On September twelfth, 1571, Coligny, who had spent a full year in prison on the charge of treason against the state and had been hanged in effigy by an outraged mob, was returned to power and was again installed in the good graces of the court at Blois. Pius was distracted by the turn of events, and he began to credit the reports of the French king's apostasy. Henry of Navarre, whom Catherine wanted her daughter Marguerite to marry, was preaching death to all who opposed Protestant preaching, and had openly defiled the Holy Eucharist and the Crucifix! It was even charged that Coligny, who was the most respected of the Protestant leaders, had gone to insane lengths at Angoulême in reviving the living torches of the ancient Roman Emperor Nero! Yet this influential leader of the Huguenots to whom the young king lent his ear, and who was intoxicating Charles with ambitious schemes of conquest in the West Indies and the seizure of enormous wealth there, was also busy through his emissaries in Switzerland, in Germany, and in England. It was even known that he was conspiring with the Moors in Constantinople and gaining adherents among the Moriscos in Spain. The Lowlands were to be given help against Philip II of Spain while he was occupied in repelling the Turks. The great decisive victory of the league under their distinguished leader, Don Juan, at Lepanto, frustrated all these plans, as well as Turkish plottings to gain another foothold in Europe.

The victory of Lepanto had a tonic effect upon the pontiff. He was determined to save France in spite of herself. He could not be moved to grant the dispensation necessary for the marriage of Marguerite with Henry of Navarre. Though Catherine played all her cards, the Pope remained adamant in his refusal. He saw that his consent would mean the apostasy of the French nation, so far as that could be thus brought about. And he declared that if the marriage should take place without his dispensation, he would proclaim the children of the match illegitimate. Catherine tried to bribe the Pope with the promise that France would join the league against the Turks. It was a tempting offer, for more than anything else Pius worked for the consolidation of the Catholic faith against the Mohammedans.

Pius V would not accept defeat at the hands of Catherine and Charles. When he was engaged in the Lord's work this son of Saint Dominic never surrendered. His untiring persistence in maintaining his papal authority and his unremitting labor and patience with recalcitrant rulers seem amazing to the historical student who with unprejudiced mind and sympathetic spirit enters into the trials and temptations which beset him on every hand. It is no wonder that he threw up his hands in appeal to heaven, begging God to relieve him of his responsibilities, and that he might be permitted to end his days in the quiet of his beloved convent – the only place where he had ever known peace. But his singleness of purpose in upholding the principles of Catholic unity never faltered. He resigned himself to continue the fight as long as there was life in him. His task was simplified and rendered more effective by a tenacity of purpose which never acknowledged the final triumph of shifty political compromise which dominated the policies of all other rulers of his

time — even the most Catholic! Yet it must not be assumed that his frank approach to his trying problems with his evasive opponents in statecraft was due to any lack of courtesy and condescension. In his letters to Philip II of Spain, and to Charles IX and Catherine, he exercised all the amenities of good breeding and restraint. The aged warrior-pontiff wielded the sword of Saint Michael with gallantry and determined patience.

Thus, at Christmastide of 1571, he sent to the French court his nuncio-extraordinary, Antonio Maria Salviati, who was connected both by ties of blood and by acquaintance with the House of Medici. The nuncio's mission to Charles IX was to use all his influence and charm to induce the king to join the *League against the Turks.* And he was to express the papal displeasure at the appointment of the heretic-bishop of Aix to Constantinople, which Pius felt destroyed all hope of deliverance of the Christian prisoners under Turkish tyranny. Salviati was also to use all his powers of persuasion with the king against his sister's marriage with Henry of Navarre. He was to challenge the specious plea that the conversion of Navarre might be effected by this dangerous marriage. Further he was to protest the breaking of the *Treaty of St. Germain* at Saluzzo where the Huguenots were propagating their ideas undisturbed. Salviati went on his difficult mission via Florence, Lucca, Genoa, and Savoia and in each city he used his eloquence to augment the Holy League. In January of 1572 the nuncio had reached Blois where the king was holding court. The papal letters which he delivered into the hands of the king were couched in terms of fatherly concern. It was at this time that Cardinal Bonelli[9] arrived at Blois with the good news that he had

[9] See p. 124.

obtained from King Sebastian of Portugal his proposal of marriage to Marguerite of Valois and his entry into the League.

En route to Blois, Cardinal Bonelli had passed through much French territory and saw with his own eyes the evidences of Huguenot zeal – the ruined churches and the devastation of the convents. His instructions from Pius were similar to the nuncio-extraordinary's: to urge French support of the League, to coax for Marguerite's hand in the name of the king of Portugal, and to thwart, if possible, the alliance with Elizabeth of England which was under consideration. So vital to Catholic interests were these aims that there came to the French court at Blois the famous general of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia, successor of Loyola, to reinforce Bonelli's pleas! Although the royal family was exposed to all the eloquence and prestige of such a mighty triumvirate as Borgia, Bonelli, and Salviati, who were unanimous that the Pope would never grant a dispensation for the marriage of Marguerite to Navarre, their combined efforts were without avail. All they were able to obtain was the promise that France would not interfere with, nor oppose the League, and the assurance that the alliance with England did not imply any hostility to Spain.

How unprincipled and futile these assurances were was soon revealed, for on April nineteenth the alliance with England and Charles IX was signed, and the marriage was duly ratified without the papal dispensation.[10] So deceptive was Charles that at the very time he was sending these assurances to the Pope, he wrote to his representative at the Porte:

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[10] This marriage took place in Paris on August 18, 1572, after Pius V's death.

I have fitted out a goodly number of ships with twelve to fifteen thousand men, who by the end of this month (May, 1572) will take the offensive, *nominally* to protect my coasts against the pirates, but *in reality* to harass the Catholic King and to encourage the *Gueux* in the Low Countries to advance, as indeed they have already done, and have seized the whole of Zeeland and greatly shaken Holland. I have concluded an alliance with the Queen of England and have sent thither my cousin, the Duke of Monmorency, a thing which has filled the Spaniards with wonder and jealousy, as have my relations with the princes of Germany.

In spite of all these untoward events, however (and, indeed, *because of them*), the Catholics in France were thoroughly aroused! Although the government seemed determined upon the destruction of their own country, the people were not deluded by all the pretensions and false underhand dealings with the real enemies of France — the complicity of her own rulers in the undertakings of the international freebooters with whom they were in alliance, and who were directing French policy. The people saw clearly how the rending of the seamless garment of the Church would destroy the unity and prestige of their own fair land. In their determined effort to save their country against those who misrepresented her true interests, they cooperated with the Pope in all his efforts to restore Catholic France. The king, in the meantime, obsessed with dreams of grandiose power, was listening to the whisperings of such men as Coligny about material advantage. It was in this direction that his own natural propensity to cupidity sufficiently inclined him. Already this had expressed itself in the acquisition of one hundred bishoprics, seventeen archbishoprics, seven hundred abbeys and priories. In view of all these facts the people

of France were made aware how hollow the Huguenot appeals to "reform" were.[11]

The true reform of the Church was at hand, and had been demanded by Pius V and all good ecclesiastics from the beginning of his pontificate. Nobody knew better than did Pius V that force, violence, and bloodshed are useless to produce reform. Abuses must be removed, abuses countenanced by the very persons who were complaining against the lack of Church discipline while they were shamelessly enjoying the fruits of their own irregularities! It was those who opposed the enforcement of the Tridentine decrees, those who profited by the powers granted by the Concordat, and abused the right of nomination to episcopal sees which they claimed and exercised so jealously, who howled the loudest for "reform!" Not only were the people of France cognizant of the true condition of their own country; but, through their ambassadors and nuncios, the people of Europe were made aware of the real foes of France. Such prelates as Châtillon, who had joined the Calvinists and taken a wife with whom he lived in the most extravagant luxury, and yet continued brazenly to wear the purple, were a scandal not only to the Church, but to the French nation as well. Charles protected all such heretics and allowed them to wallow in their stolen riches and shame. He actually favored them with his condescension.

The finances of the government under Charles were in a deplorable condition. The material losses incurred by the religious wars were enormous and could not be replaced — any more than Coventry or Cologne or Maintz

[11] So like the procedure of spoliation in England under Henry VIII, which, long before Hitler, had left its mark upon every Cathedral in that fair land! The ravishment of churches and abbeys in France under Charles IX caused the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Correro, to say "they deal in bishoprics and abbeys as they do elsewhere in pepper and cinnamon."

can arise from their ashes. Correro wrote that it would take ten years to build churches to replace those destroyed; he said the clergy were ruined by the tax of twelve million scudi imposed upon them by the rapacious government.

The sight of the wrecked churches, lovely even in their ruins, the profaned altars, the knowledge of the murders of priests and monks and nuns, whose relatives were the common people of France; all these outrages ate into the consciousness of Catholics everywhere. The loud and false apologies of such stupid criminal conduct, in the name of "reform," disgusted and alienated even those who had listened and believed in the Calvinist and Huguenot pretensions to greater purity of religion. Thousands sought return to the Church of their fathers, and were welcomed back into her fold. Those who had been intimidated by fear and made dumb by impotence began to assert themselves at long last. Like men awakening from the stupefaction of drugs, they rubbed their eyes and stood erect. Moreover the Huguenots had lost their leaders. Condé was dead. Coligny's brother, Andelot, was dead. Wolfgang of Deux-Ponts, the Lutheran who had lent aid to their cause, was dead. France — that is, *rural* France — had remained Catholic, if quiescent. Now these peasants, and many urban Frenchmen, too, awoke as from a nightmare. For the essential French character demands unity, however much the café habitués of Paris gossip, and the boulevardiers yell! This reaction, which now began to manifest itself — surfeited as the people were by the imposition of antagonistic alien influences — grew stronger and stronger. More and more, men of influence who had been led astray by what had once seemed a joyous release, returned to the Church disillusioned and repentant. Thus Pierre de Ronsard, founder of French classicism, returned

to his former faith; and, in his broadsheets began a campaign against the Huguenots, of whom he had been one, calling them "the destroyers of Christianity and enemies of the state."

Nothing more revealed the changed attitude of French Catholics than their openly expressed affection and reverence for the Pope. They repudiated their Gallicanism which had rent France in twain. Once more they saw in the Pontiff of Christendom the true Vicar of Christ, rather than "an Italian Prince," as his enemies had tried to paint him. French Catholics vied with one another in honoring Pius V whose piety and wisdom they were beginning to appreciate, and whose authority they began to re-evaluate as the cement which bound Europe together.

Then, too, the religious Orders were more active than ever – especially the Jesuits, who were making converts and bringing back fallen-away Catholics. Their missionary labors brought a rich harvest in souls. Such men as Edmond Auger, who at Toulouse taught over a thousand students that eagerly listened to his words of wisdom, came to Paris to preach in churches which were so crowded they could scarcely hold the congregations. The Jesuit, Antonio Passevino, brought twenty-five hundred Huguenots back into the Church; and his successor, Olivier Manaraeus, converted four thousand Calvinists at Dieppe where all the churches had been ruined and despoiled.

The zeal and sincerity of these Jesuits accomplished miracles within a few months, by preaching and by the noble example of their self-sacrificing lives. They preached in prisons and hospitals, and organized the women into lay bands to assist the inmates and serve the poor. They seemed to be omnipresent: for we find these tireless men at Marseilles visiting the orphanages and even the galleys in the Port of the Seven Seas. Auger compiled his two

catechisms, and did for uninstructed Catholics in France what Canisius did in Germany. Maldonatus abandoned his chair in the Jesuit college at Paris to preach with five other colleagues in Poitou, a hotbed of Huguenots. After exhaustive labors there, he gave it as his considered opinion that the reason Protestantism had taken such root at Poitou was that Catholic training in the elements of their religion had ceased among the people and had created a vacuum which the Huguenots had filled. Such was the Catholic revival in France that the churches were packed to overflowing, the confessionals were crowded, and throngs of communicants returned to the altar to receive their Eucharistic King. The Huguenots themselves were weary and disillusioned after all the religious wars which had brought nothing but suffering and ruin upon France. On the feast day of St. Denis in Paris the people outdid themselves in church attendance and in devotion. They were repenting for their sins and for the sins of their enemies. Priests declared they had never seen such piety in their day. When Francesco Bramante traveled through France, he noted everywhere a conspicuous reduction in the numbers of Huguenots![12]

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[12] Although Döllinger and Lord Acton claim that Pius V advocated the assassination of such Huguenot leaders as Condé and Coligny, authentic documents have proved the utter falsity of such a charge which was copied from Ranke's *Zeitschrift,* 11, p. 598. This wrests from its context a passage in a letter from Bonelli to Pius V and gives it Ranke's own interpretation. Any connection of Pius V's name with the St. Bartholomew massacre, is based upon this passage which, as Gabutius states, refers to hopes of the conversion of Charles IX. Yet Ranke repeats his charge, although Soldan in his *Taschenbuch,* 1854, and Gandy in his *Révue des questions historiques* and in the *Civiltà Cattolica* deny that Pius V had any previous knowledge of the contemplated massacre. In the excitement of the controversy over papal Infallibility during the Vatican Council in 1869, Acton pays no heed to any facts that do not fit into his pet theory. He simply reiterates Döllinger's false statements which Michelet had so ably refuted. The Protestant scholar Baumgarten shows how untenable

the contentions of Döllinger and his friend Lord Acton are. He is supported by another Protestant scholar, Türke (and several more eminent men of letters who have gone exhaustively into the controversy), when he asserts in conclusion that "the very character of Pius V excludes any participation in intrigues which . . . pertain to the realm of fiction." All these sources and several more, are cited by Pastor whose research is exhaustive and incontrovertible. Vol XVIII, pp. 140–143.

One must also remember the strained relationship which at the time existed between the French Court and the papacy; a situation not at all conducive to such intimacies as a conspiracy. Moreover, Pius V's death antedated the massacre by four months. A wide return to the *status quo* and conversions which had been going on over a period of years, caused this depletion in Huguenot ranks long before St. Bartholomew's Day, which was caused by the terror of King Charles IX and the Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici, for purely political reasons and for their own safety.

8

PIUS V EXAMINES APOSTATE ENGLAND AND CALVINIST SCOTLAND

FROM the time when Pope Gregory the Great sent Saint Augustine to convert the pagan inhabitants of England to Christianity, in 597, until Anne Boleyn's flashing eyes caught the fancy of Henry VIII, England had been for almost a millennium a Catholic country, united to the Pope of Rome in loyal obedience. Indeed, this same king had won the title of *Defensor Fidei,* "Defender of the Faith," a title bestowed by Pope Leo X for the book in defense of the Sacraments which Henry had written in refutation of Luther's revolutionary teaching.[1] It is a title which the kings of England continue to use and which the archbishop of Canterbury does not scruple to bestow at the coronation of a new sovereign, in defiance of its origin. It affords a curious example of how fond the English are of traditions which have long since lost their meaning.

Anyone taking a cathedral tour over England is brought face to face with the devastation wrought both by Henry VIII and Elizabeth and their favorites, and by Cromwell

[1] This letter of Leo X to Henry VIII granting the title is preserved in the Vatican Library.

and his Iconoclasts. The despoiled altars speak eloquently of the Church's former grandeur in that fair land. The majestic arches and silent aisles where every footstep resounds to the echo of Gregorian plain chants of a bygone day, when the faithful crowded the churches for the Mass, are mournful evidences of a lost belief. The "Lady Chapels" that remind one of the gracious veneration once accorded to the Mother of our Lord, are pathetic testimony of a faith that has lost all reality, except respectability and custom. There is an ominous foreboding sense of something infinitely precious that is gone forever. The moss-and-ivy-covered abbeys through whose gaping ruins the wind sighs sorrowfully are but crumbling walls which echo a ghostly refrain of hushed *Aves* and murmured *Kyries!* These ruined abbeys are architectural mausoleums of an ancient faith which was once strong and virile. An infinite sadness oppresses the tourist returning from Catholic countries on the Continent. And to Catholics accustomed to numerous crowded Masses every Sunday morning in American Catholic churches, these monuments of a lost piety seem to portend a dire warning of impending calamity; for how can a people be happy and strong without a strong living faith?

The work of devastation accomplished by greedy nobles, by the Iconoclasts, and finally by the neglect and lack of interest of the people, had not done its final and complete work of destruction when Pius V became the Vicar of Christ in 1566. But it was making rapid progress! And the nobles were profiting enormously by the rape of Church lands.

Much has been written about the Church and the convents and monastery lands and other ecclesiastical institutions being "swollen with wealth." Doubtless they were a rich morsel eyed enviously by those who coveted their

treasures. But under ecclesiastical control they had been administered as a trust for the people. They provided houses of hospitality where travelers were never denied food and shelter. Schools and hospitals were flourishing. Great universities like Oxford were established for the education of those who thirsted for knowledge. Great teachers arose whose reputation traveled all over the Continent. Christian charity abounded. Poverty was not a crime nor a disgrace. Christ had been poor! Many Orders espoused our Lady Poverty[2] in imitation of Him. Europe was dotted with these hospitable refuges.

We have mentioned in passing[3] the education, at the court of Marguerite of Navarre, of Anne Boleyn, future wife of Henry VIII and mother of Queen Elizabeth, before she came to England and aroused the passion of the king, whom she completely captivated for a short time.

When Henry's powerful minister, Cardinal Wolsey, lost the favor of the king (1529) because of his failure to procure the desired divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and thus allow Henry to marry Anne Boleyn, he was succeeded by Thomas Cromwell who initiated a new era in England, which was to have the most tragic consequences for Catholic Europe. Link by link, all the bonds which had bound England to the papacy were severed. A subservient Parliament, composed of the king's creatures, carried through, in a period of seven years (1529–1536), this drastic change in the religious life of the realm. Although public opinion was strongly on the side of the deposed queen, Henry privately married Anne who was already with child. To her great grief and Henry's chagrin, this

[2] Men must learn again the meaning of the paradoxical phrase of St. Jerome: "men of most rich poverty," if the world is to be saved from the morass of materialism into which we have degenerated.

[3] Cf. footnote, p. 155.

child was a girl, who in the course of events became the celebrated Elizabeth of England.

A definite break with Rome was, of course, the result of Henry's marriage to Anne. Henceforth all bishops were appointed by the crown, and all intercourse with the "Bishop of Rome" was unlawful. The king was now supreme head of the Church in England. To this act both Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher stoutly refused to swear; and, in spite of their vast influence and exemplary lives, they were executed and became martyrs to their faith and are now canonized saints of the Church.

In 1536 the smaller monasteries were dissolved by Henry; and two years later the final blow was struck with the suppression of all the remaining monasteries. This work of destruction and expropriation of Church lands by the Crown was wrought by Thomas Cromwell, who justly earned the title of "Hammer of the Monks," and had now become the most powerful man in England. The year 1536 was notable also for the death of the former Queen Catherine and the execution of Anne Boleyn in the Tower. The very next day after Anne was beheaded, Henry was betrothed to Lady Jane Seymour; and in ten days this unhappy woman was married to the adulterous bluebeard. Jane died, leaving an infant son who became the unfortunate Edward VI. The birth of this child greatly rejoiced the king, who felt his third marriage was justified in the eyes of his people by this fruitful male issue and heir to the English throne. Then Henry took Anne of Cleves for his fourth wife, largely for political reasons, since it attached the Protestant party to the Protestant interests in Germany. But to Henry's fourth marriage was due in large part the fall of the powerful Cromwell who was executed in 1540 as a "heretic!" Henry divorced Anne of Cleves to marry Catherine Howard who was be-

headed for infidelity. Then, in 1543, he married his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, who was the only one of his consorts who survived him. When Henry VIII went to his final judgment, Parliament gave the succession to the offspring of Jane Seymour, to Catherine of Aragon, and to Anne Boleyn; i.e., to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, who succeeded to the throne of England in that order.

The poor little king of England, Edward VI, was ten years of age when his father died and he became the lawful sovereign. At the age of sixteen he was dead of the king's disease, a mass of putrifaction. But under the regency of his uncle, Lord Seymour, Protestantism made great strides in England. All the images were removed from their niches and altars in the churches; and a new prayer book, known as the Book of Common Prayer,[4] was compiled and ordered to be used. Also during the first year of the protectorate, Seymour had invaded Scotland on the pretext of its having broken the contract with Henry VIII, which had stipulated that Mary, Queen of Scots, should marry Edward. The Scots were defeated; and an insurrection, headed by the tanner Kett, was quelled. Then the Earl of Warwick, John Dudley, triumphed over Seymour (duke of Somerset), who was executed in the Tower in 1552. Dudley, created Duke of Northumberland, married his son to Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, to whom Henry had promised the crown in the event his three children should have no issue. The dying Edward had signed the paper thrust upon him by his uncle, which declared both Mary and Elizabeth "illegitimate," and which gave the succession to Lady Jane Grey, who reigned ten days when she was seized and made a prisoner in the Tower; and four

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[4] Unsurpassed for its literary merit, and its poetic beauty!

months later she was executed, at the age of sixteen, for treason.

Now Mary Tudor, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, became, according to the terms of Henry's will, the lawful queen and reigned for a brief span of five years. In 1554 she married Philip of Spain. But to her great grief she bore him no children. Together the royal couple restored Catholic worship. Mass was celebrated once more; and the authority of the papacy was re-established; but Parliament refused to restore the church lands seized by the nobles under Henry VIII. To demonstrate her loyalty to the Church, Mary restored her own lands which were in the possession of the Crown. Upon her marriage to Philip II, a formidable rebellion under Wyatt arose to depose Mary and to put Elizabeth on the throne. Elizabeth was imprisoned in the Tower for a short period for the queen's protection.

Philip was never popular with Mary's subjects; and the loss of Calais, the sole remaining foothold England had upon the Continent after the long Hundred Years' War, did not increase his prestige; for he had urged Mary's participation in the war against France. It was not Mary's cruelty which earned her the appellation of "bloody" by the partisans of Protestantism. Actually there were less than three hundred who died at the stake under Mary; and many of those included in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* were outright criminals. These imprisonments and legal deaths were quite in keeping with English procedure at the time. Englishmen felt outraged that they were carried out at the "instigation of a foreigner"; and it was Philip II of Spain against whom the English people rebelled, rather than against the Pope of Rome. To Mary, the destruction of the Faith, the most precious possession in the world, was the most heinous of crimes.

Upon Mary's pathetic death in 1558, followed the next day by that of Cardinal Pole, official Catholic England ceased to exist. Elizabeth, the only remaining child of Henry VIII, became the acknowledged sovereign of England. A favorite at the court of Catherine Parr, educated by devotees of the new learning of the Renaissance, her political leanings were strongly Protestant; and her support, as she very well knew, was from the Protestant party.

During Pius IV's pontificate, Elizabeth was treated with consideration; for he hoped the queen might be brought back to the Catholic faith, although it is difficult to find grounds for his wishful thinking; for, from the very beginning of her reign, she showed her high-handed authority and queenly prerogatives, in spite of the fact that she was, by the canon law of Rome, by the canon law of the English church which Henry had drawn up, and by the common law of Europe, "illegitimate." But the English have never been keen about legality and logic. Perhaps it was to win over this woman, with whom the papacy was little acquainted, that both Paul IV and Pius IV had shown little opposition. Yet she had been instrumental in striking off Pope Paul IV's name from the list of potentates who were informed of her accession. If, at the time of her avowed heresy, Paul IV had shown some of the forthright condemnation which Pius V eventually showed, the task of the fifth Pius would have been easier.

Elizabeth was clearly feeling her way. She and her minister, Cecil, were biding their time. Elizabeth's personal preferences were for the Catholic Mass without the Pope; and she wanted an ordained priesthood. She loved the elaborate ritual; and she had nothing but contempt for the bareness of the extreme Protestant services. But for political prestige she permitted more Protestantism than she liked. Acts of religious aggression, which in her own

secret heart she despised, Elizabeth permitted, to augment her own political position. Although the queen had issued a proclamation only two days after Mary's death, which must have frightened the Protestants, but was clearly intended to mollify the Catholics, and which forbade "her subjects of every degree" to undertake or attempt "any pretense, breach, alteration, or change of any order or usage . . . upon pain of our indignation and the pains and penalties" which would result; yet, no sooner had the bells ceased to toll and Requiem Masses for the repose of the soul of the dead Queen Mary been sung with proper solemnity, than Elizabeth's course became evident in the appointment of her Privy Council. From this body twenty-four of those appointed by Mary were dismissed, while eight new members of Protestant sympathies were added. This choice of men who were to act as the advisers of the new queen should have been enough to demonstrate to the Pope whither Elizabeth would lead the nation in religious matters. And if this did not suffice to indicate the queen's future course, her order to Oglethorpe on Christmas Day not to elevate the Chalice at the Mass (to which order he rightly refused to comply, on the ground that he had no right to depart from the divine office), together with Elizabeth's strutting out of the church at the Consecration, should have convinced Rome of her intentions. Nothing could have so unequivocably shown that the queen considered herself the head of the Church. And all this happened before the coronation of the queen!

The day itself for her coronation was chosen by the queen in accordance with the advice of her astrologer, Dr. Lee,[5] to whom the stars and the crystals had revealed it,

[5] It is curious how those who call themselves emancipated from "the superstitions of Catholicism" have, throughout the ages and even up to our own day, been so susceptible to the influence of fortune tellers!

that it should be January the fifteenth. At the coronation, it is interesting to note, Archbishop Heath and fifteen of his colleagues refused to crown the queen. Eventually the same Oglethorpe, who had disobeyed the queen by elevating the Chalice at the Christmas Mass, consented to perform the ceremony of coronation on the weak plea that "the queen should not be moved to overthrow religion entirely." Perhaps he hoped to make the queen more pliable by appeasing her. Thus do weaklings and politicians always compromise their position and eventually make matters worse! For, by a consistent refusal, Elizabeth would have been forced to show her hand, and the course of the papacy would have been uncompromising. But, although the bishops were present at the coronation, they absented themselves at the Mass when the Elevation was once again omitted. Thus they showed themselves loyal subjects of the queen; but at the same time they did not fail to demonstrate their loyalty to the Church they served.

Without blanching, Elizabeth, consummate actress of Machiavellian strategy, perjured herself by promising to "preserve and maintain to you and to the churches committed to your charge all canonical privileges and due law and justice, and that I will be your protector and defender . . . by the assistance of God, as every good king in his kingdom ought in right to protect and defend the bishops and churches under their dominion." She had got what she wanted by the most hypocritical and base means. For she was crowned queen of England; and now she could proceed to deny by act what she had promised by word. Little wonder that in the privacy of her chamber, in the presence of her ladies, she found the anointing oil offensive and wiped it from her brow with the characteristic Elizabethan expression: "Bah, it stinks!"

All these events plainly showed how the wind blew and where the new queen of England stood in regard to the religion which had been that of the fair land of England, and the unquestioned faith of its people ever since the day when, in the sixth century, Saint Augustine baptized King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha, in the ancient baptismal font preserved at old St. Martin's just beyond Canterbury. But all this rich heritage was to be repudiated for a mess of pottage by Elizabeth's lustful father, "bluff King Hal!"

How sad to reflect in these tragic days upon the disunity of Christianity, which, if it presented a strong united front against the forces of paganism and atheism, might prevail to withstand with confidence and sure victory against the false ideologies which are today confusing and mystifying the peoples of the world!

Elizabeth had been queen only two years when there arose a rival to the throne of England in the person of Mary, Queen of Scots, who then was returning from France to the country of her birth to claim the throne of that bleak land. Mary of Guise had been left a widow at the death of her young husband, Francis II, in 1560, when she was but eighteen years of age. Educated in France, all traces of her Scottish origin had completely disappeared. Schooled in lessons of French refinement at the court of Francis I, she was considered beautiful and brilliant. Moreover she had gained a political experience far beyond her years. Beneath the charming youthful artlessness there dwelt deep-laid plans. She was by religion and politics a Catholic. Brought up in an atmosphere of intrigue, she had learned to dissimulate. To protect herself, she employed her attractions, so that it may be said that few women ever interwove their private affairs so dashingly into the woof of their public life.

She was unknown in England. The first intimation of her real character was her refusal to sign the Treaty of Edinburgh acknowledging Elizabeth as the lawful sovereign of England. Elizabeth soon learned with whom she had to deal. She refused a free passage through England to the returning Scottish queen unless the treaty be signed. Not at all intimidated, Mary set sail, passing from Calais through the Channel infested with English vessels and arrived at Leith in the middle of August, 1561.

As she stood before the rough throng of boisterous nobles who came to welcome her, she comprehended intuitively how difficult and lonely her task was to be. Captivated by her youthful loveliness and graceful charm, and by her manifest courage, they received her with hearty cheers. At once she was determined to utilize all her powers of persuasion to bring these crude people to her feet. Without an army or bodyguard even, with no real power, she had come among a strange people who must have seemed almost savage to the exquisite creature who spoke a few words of graceful acknowledgment in reply to their raucous welcome. Mary fully realized that the future was rich in possibilities. There were plenty of Catholics in England who secretly rejoiced that she was up north and could represent them. Moreover she was next in succession to the English throne. Scotland could prove the rallying point from which an uprising of the maltreated Catholics might proceed. Her first task was to win over the Scottish people to her side.

Elizabeth was frankly worried by Mary's close proximity. She felt that her suspicion, which was aroused by Mary's refusal to sign the Edinburgh treaty, was well founded; for was not her rival's position in Scotland undisputed, her claims to the English throne conceded by many, and her rights to succession obvious and admitted by all? It

is quite likely that Elizabeth might have made an alliance with Mary had the Scottish queen been willing to set aside her claims of present possession. But Mary would not surrender this claim for the sake of a dubious future. And the dilemma of the English queen was very real. Elizabeth could not marry a Protestant without putting herself at a disadvantage, for Mary could then rally to her side all the discontented Catholics. If, on the other hand, she married a Catholic, she would renounce her personal prestige and sacrifice her political strength. At the time, she desired to marry the Earl of Leicester, younger son of the Earl of Northumberland; but how could she gratify her own desires without sacrificing her queenly prerogatives by marrying a commoner?

Thus the contest of these two queens resolved itself into the personal ambitions of two highly-gifted women, each determined to bolster up her own power. Mary was more winsome, younger, and more nimble-witted. Elizabeth was possessed of greater foresight, more caution, and in the last analysis was always motivated by her position and what she deemed the prudent course for the securing of her high station; while Mary's impulses were more womanly, more personal, more infused with feminine glamour.

Mary began her government under the guidance of her half-brother, the Earl of Murray. She was successful in granting greater toleration for Catholic worship. The party of moderation prevailed for the nonce. This was partly due to the discontent of the new clergy who were peeved at not receiving the lands stolen from the Church. Two thirds of these possessions remained in the hands of the laymen who wrested them from the Church. The other third reverted to the crown. Yet, when the Earl of Huntley, who headed the Catholics in the north country, arose in rebellion for greater privileges, Mary and her brother

Murray set out on an expedition against him. As a result, this undertaking (which Mary had espoused with abandon, riding gaily at the head of her troops), ended with the death of the Earl of Huntley and the blasting of his Catholic hopes. This was in 1562, the year of Guise's triumph over the Huguenots at the *Tumult of Amboise* by which he gained greater power in France than King Charles himself enjoyed. Then it was that Catherine de 'Medici and Charles allied themselves with the stronger Catholic party and repudiated the Protestants whom they had previously backed.[6]

With the help furnished by Elizabeth at the price of the promise of Havre-de-Grâce, Condé began war in Normandy. He was defeated and taken prisoner while the Duke of Guise began the siege of Orleans, the hotbed of the Huguenots. Here Guise was stricken down, not in battle, but at the hands of an assassin. A young Huguenot, Poltrot de Merey, who had convinced himself that he was doing a deed acceptable to God, put an end to the brilliant career of the Duke of Guise. With Guise dead and Condé in prison, Catherine de'Medici urged moderation; and by the *Edict of Amboise* gave to Protestants the right to worship in the towns which they held as cities of refuge. Havre was won back and Elizabeth made peace.

But the assassination of the Duke of Guise did not diminish the power of that House in France. And as the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine grew, Mary's course became more decided. She refused the marriage offer of Don Carlos, son of Philip II, and also the marriage which Elizabeth presented of her own favorite, the Earl of Leicester, together with the promise of the acknowledgment of her succession to the English throne. This tempting

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[6] See pp. 151–158.

offer by Elizabeth was repudiated by Mary who saw that if she married an English Protestant subject, she would lose her own political prestige. She would trust to herself and the more moderate men of Scotland who hated the fanatical intolerance of John Knox as much as the most sincere Catholics feared and despised him. On July twenty-ninth, 1565, she married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.

Six months after this event, Pius V ascended the throne of Peter. Elizabeth was thirty-three years of age, and she had ruled her kingdom for eight years. The Act of Supremacy had been in effect seven years. By the Act she was given "that prerogative . . . always given to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." This practical application of the Erastian theory,[7] so convenient for the queen of England, subordinated church government to the authority of the crown, placed all ecclesiastical bodies under her control, both in doctrine and discipline, and maintained the authority of the civil magistrate over the conscience of the subject. It was the logical result of the *cuius regio, eius religio* which arose in Germany and spread elsewhere on the Continent, by which the subject of a state must adopt the religion of the ruler – or emigrate to a state where his own faith was practised.

Naturally the strong supporters of the settlement were those who had become enriched by the spoils of the

[7] Erastus (Thomas Lieber) was a Swiss theologian and physician who had espoused the doctrines of Zwingli. He wrote many books in defense of his views. He is popularly known for his doctrine of the complete subjection of the Church to the state. This is today still referred to as "Erastianism."

Church. Elizabeth's minister, Cecil (Lord Burghley), profited enormously by the Act. He had taken no less than three hundred properties of the Church; and the estate of Burghley on which he lived was formerly a monastery. Macaulay naïvely justifies the theft by declaring that "his fortunes were not greater than his services had merited."

No man wielded such great influence over the queen as did her confidential minister, William Cecil, who, throughout her long reign, remained close to her side. Courtiers might come and go; but Cecil continued to shape England's policy. Elizabeth did not always follow his advice; and she often insulted him by her fits of temper and acts of caprice; but in the end she always returned to his counsel. Burghley was not an heroic figure, but he was wary and cautious and compromising—the perfect Machiavellian statesman. Elizabeth appreciated these qualities which she early sensed when she appointed him a member of her council. "This judgment I have of you; that you will not be corrupted with any gift[8] and that you will be faithful to the state; and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best."

Yet she never wholly adopted Burghley's policy against Philip II of Spain whom she used as a whip over her minister; nor was her opposition against the Catholic Powers as extreme as was her premier's. Elizabeth was evasive, rather than aggressive. She knew that Cecil wished above everything else to secure his own influence and power by the elimination of Mary, Queen of Scots, as the next in line of succession, for the simple reason that Mary's accession would spell his own ruin. But, dreading per-

[8] Burghley's immense fortune, which the Queen had bestowed upon him, kept him free from the charge, or the necessity, of accepting bribes.

haps the consequences of open opposition to Mary's rights of succession (since they might reflect upon her own rather insecure sovereign claims), Elizabeth refused to compromise royal prestige; and, as usual, delayed while she watched every move of her rival in Scotland.

Mary had tried to re-establish the Catholic religion in her own kingdom of Scotland, at least in so far as giving it equality before the law with the Protestant religion. Pius V believed when he ascended the throne that the Scottish queen was about to restore the Old Religion to its former place in the lives of her subjects; and after her marriage to Darnley, the pontiff wrote to the royal couple to carry forward the good work. News doubtless had reached Rome of what had taken place on Easter Sunday in Edinburgh when a priest had been seized for saying Mass, fastened to a cross in the market place, and pelted with mud and "given ten thousand eggs" for four hours before he was thrown into prison. Mary pardoned two priests for the crime of saying Mass, although their property was confiscated. The Cardinal of Lorraine sent his envoy to Mary on January twenty-seventh, 1566, urging her to confiscate the property of the rebels, and to implore the new pontiff for financial means to right the wrongs done against the Catholics.

Mary, who desired that her people should love her, charged her departing envoy, Chisholm, to go to His Holiness and to tell him that, while conditions in Scotland were not out of hand, they were yet dangerous and needed watching. But Chisholm had not gone far on his journey when news reached him of tragic happenings in Scotland. Mary had opened Parliament on March the seventh, and had presented the proposal that bishops and priests should be permitted the free exercise of the Old Religion, and that the rebels should be punished for conspiracy.

But a fresh conspiracy for the overthrow of the queen, in which her own husband, Darnley, was implicated, was instigated by the rebel lords who were threatened with the loss of their possessions. They promised Darnley (whose pride was piqued by Mary's refusal to bestow upon him the matrimonial crown) the hereditary crown if he would ally himself with the very men who had recently taken up arms against him. As a preliminary step, the murder of Rizzio, her secretary, was to clear the field for future action against the queen. The conspirators claimed they had evidence that David Rizzio was an agent of the Pope, a charge that has never been proved; but which, because of constant repetition, has been accepted as authentic, although the Vatican archives contain no letters[9] between him and the Holy See. Equally erroneous are the popular versions of his attractive person and his gift for playing the harp and singing. As a matter of fact he was old and not at all prepossessing; but it is easily understood why the dramatic version of a romantic link between the queen and her secretary was insinuated into the story. Doubtless Rizzio was zealous for the restoration of the Old Religion in Scotland; but there is no evidence of any conspiracy between him and the young queen, who was six months pregnant when her husband, with the assassins, burst into her chambers where she was seated with her ladies, her half-brother Murray, and Rizzio. The blameless Rizzio was dragged from the shelter of the queen's voluminous robes and murdered in cold blood. It has been established that John Knox and Craig, both preachers of the Calvin version of Protestantism, were implicated in the murder of Rizzio.[10]

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[9] Pastor, quoting Pollen, ciii.

[10] Pastor, quoting Bain, loc. cit. and n. 363, p. 270.

Mary displayed great courage in her hour of trial. She shielded her husband and the father of her unborn child when he came to her terrified by the deed into which he had been drawn. They escaped from the conspirators by fleeing; and the accomplices also fled in terror. The Scottish queen was saved.

When Chisholm finally arrived in Rome, he acquainted the Pope with the terrible news he had picked up at Lyons. In his desire to assist the sorely-stricken queen, Pius V cut down his own household expenses in order by personal sacrifice to come to her rescue. He wrote letters to Philip II and to Charles IX of France, begging them to assist Mary. If these two influential kings had listened to the pontiff's pleas, the history of Queen Mary of Scots and of Catholicism in Scotland; yes! even in England, would have been very different! As it was, Murray and the banished lords returned and tried again to win Darnley over to their schemes. But Mary had detached her husband from his former accomplices. Together they fled to Dunbar where Bothwell, at the head of the forces he had raised, joined them on March the twelfth. In two weeks time the queen returned triumphant to Edinburgh; and once more the rebel lords fled. Restored to power, the Scottish queen bore a son who was to become James I of England and James VI of Scotland; and by her fruitful issue her position was strengthened and her prestige augmented. Elizabeth, on hearing the news of Mary's safe deliverance, burst into tears, exclaiming: "The Queen of Scots is the mother of a fair son, and I am a barren stock."

But her husband, Darnley, had so compromised himself that he was loathed by the queen and despised both by the Protestants and the Catholic party of whom Mary was the acknowledged head. In her extremity, Mary gave all

her confidence to Bothwell; and she showered him with rich abbey land in Melrose and Haddington, and rewarded him for his services by conferring upon him the title of Lord High Admiral and Warden of the Scottish Borders. He was the most powerful man in the kingdom. And the queen was now completely under his influence. Bothwell was determined to marry the queen, although he must first get rid of his own wife and rid Mary of the contemptible Darnley, who had been removed to Glasgow where he was recovering from the smallpox. The queen visited him at Kirk-of-Field near Holyrood where she held court. On the evening of February the ninth, 1567, the house provided for him at Kirk-of-Field was blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley was found dead in the garden while the queen was dancing at a ball in Holyrood.

Circumstantial evidence was against her. Bothwell was naturally suspected of the crime of which he was openly accused. Darnley's father, Lennox, who had nursed his son back to health, demanded a trial which was granted by the queen. But Bothwell, arriving at the capital with him armed forces, completely overawed the prosecution. Lennox, who feared for his life, did not dare to come to Edinburgh. Bothwell emerged a free man, as no one appeared to bring any evidence against him.

Bothwell then obtained the signatures of a number of influential lords to a bond, pledging their approval of his marriage to the lately widowed Mary. Not quite three months after the murder of her husband, Bothwell arrived at the Castle of Stirling where the queen was visiting her infant son. Intercepting her departure from the gate, he boldly carried her off by force to his Castle of Dunbar. Bothwell's wife obtained a divorce on the ground of adultery, which left him free to remarry, as he was a Protestant. And the Consistorial Court, which Mary her-

self had re-established by royal decree, gave her an annulment on the ground of consanguinity. With shocking expedition they were married; and Mary's implication in the murder of her husband was now openly charged. Mary had ruined her reputation, not only in Scotland, but in England and on the Continent as well. By her infatuation for Bothwell, Mary had sacrificed all her political wisdom. Elizabeth, without lifting a finger, watched her recent formidable rival sink deeper and deeper into the morass where her passion had driven her. Elizabeth could now sleep soundly. Her worst fears were abated.

Contradictory rumors of all these happenings were received in Rome with growing alarm. Whatever the truth or falsity of the reports, even if Mary had not been guilty of actual crime, at least she had ruined her good name. Yet, in justice to this much-maligned woman, it must be recorded that up to the death of Darnley, her name was above reproach, both at the court of France and in Edinburgh under the cruel eyes of the hate-intoxicated Knox and his followers. In spite of their desire to bring some charge against her, they had been unable to compromise her for seven years. She had shown high courage in suffering and disaster. She had spared her despicable husband, Darnley; and, unlike Elizabeth, she had clung loyally to her religion when it was against her own interest to do so. Moreover her spiritual adviser, the Dominican Roch Mamerot, testified that up to her marriage to Bothwell he could vouch for her virtue, courage, and honor. This testimony he was ready to affirm by solemn oath. Rashly impulsive and desperate she undoubtedly was. Certainly no match for the cunning Elizabeth, Mary has been loved and pitied by the judgment of history; while Elizabeth has been coldly admired for her subordination of personal desires to her queenly prerogatives. In Eliza-

beth, the queen conquered the woman; but in Mary, the woman conquered the queen. More than once she had forgiven her traitorous husband, Darnley. Repeatedly she tried to be reconciled to the father of her son, as he himself attested. But it was necessary to blacken her name; and to this end the most shameless lies and calumnies were invented by her enemies. The famous casket letters which played such an important part in her trial at Westminster are now believed to be forgeries.

Her marriage to Bothwell was, at best, a terrible blunder. The fact that she received the Sacraments according to the Catholic rites immediately after her marriage is evidence that she herself considered her marriage valid. Pius V entertained the most serious doubts about Mary Stuart. He was distraught; for he had placed great hopes in her for the re-establishment of the Faith in Scotland. Pius recalled his nuncio, Laureo; and Mary complained to the Cardinal of Lorraine that the Pope had recalled him too soon; that if he had remained, many disasters would have been avoided. Laureo was at Mondovì, en route to Rome, when the news reached him of her marriage to Bothwell. He sent on word to the Holy Father that Mary had acted "contrary to God's honor and her own." And he wrote to Mary that, although he was granting her request for an adviser, and was sending her the Jesuit, Edmund Hay, she must not blame the Pope if he spurned her; since, by marrying Bothwell who was a married man, she had committed an act which seemingly implied apostasy from her Faith. And although Laureo sent to the pontiff an autographed letter from Mary in which she reaffirmed her loyalty to the Catholic religion, "in which she wished to die," the stern and righteous Pope caused his nuncio to reply that His Holiness cannot wilfully blind himself to what has transpired and believes

that at present he ought to withdraw from the religious question in Scotland. As for the queen herself, he cannot have any further relations with her, unless in the future she shows herself a better daughter of the Church. And so all relations between Scotland and Rome were broken off by the uncompromising pontiff. Pius V did not change his views regarding Mary for some time, for he considered her "little better than Elizabeth." But on January, 1569, Edmund Hay wrote to his General, Francis Borgia, asking that prayers be said for the sinful woman, that she might be brought back and accomplish some good work to redeem the past. Her marriage to Bothwell was unhappy; and hers was a bitter atonement in this world.

The nobles who had so long plotted her ruin now believed that their day had arrived. They formed an army against Bothwell "to rescue the queen." Mary, because she wished to avoid bloodshed, withdrew her troops and came to terms with the rebels who allowed Bothwell to escape as the queen had stipulated; although, as it was learned later, the nobles were in league with Bothwell and their "rescue of the queen" was pure pretense.

Now Mary, Queen of Scots, was absolutely alone in the world. Deserted by the man who had stolen her, forsaken by the pontiff who could not in conscience condone her acts so at variance with her Catholic professions, without a friend or an adviser, this sad woman who had lived so tragically in the brief space of twenty-five years was utterly abandoned. She was met with shouts of "Burn the whore!" on her journey to Edinburgh as a prisoner. "Burn the murderess!"[11] rang in her ears along her dreary route. She heard the savage cruel street mob shout for her death

[11] Yet Scotland was not unaccustomed to regicide. Of her 105 kings, 56 had been killed!

by drowning or at the stake. She alone bore the blame for the iniquity of Darnley's death (never proved against her), while it is now known that the Secretary of State Lethington, Chief Justice Argyll, and Chancellor Huntley were all implicated. She was the sole scapegoat; and like a lamb, she was led to the slaughter. In the Castle of Lochleven, in the middle of a lake, the disgraced woman was imprisoned. Knox gloated over the unhappy woman's misfortune. No milk of human kindness tempered his vindictive demand for Mary's execution for adultery and for the murder of her husband. His sermon seethed with hatred.

The nobles were triumphant. They would now rule the kingdom for their own advantage in the name of the infant king. And at once the Catholic worship of the queen, to which in her extremity she had turned, was mocked and vilified. Everything in her private chapel in Lochleven was broken to pieces. And Murray began systematically to persecute the Catholics of Scotland. Bishop Chisholm was brought to trial for administering the Sacraments, and accused for his relations with the Pope. He was deposed, and all his revenues were confiscated. Proof of celebrating Mass was enough to bring ecclesiastics to trial. Many purchased their freedom for money and left the country. Four priests were conducted to the market place for the crime of saying Mass, and were condemned to death. Murray commuted the sentence to exile. But they were first forced to hold the Chalice aloft while the mob besmirched it with filth for a full hour. Thus Calvinist Scotland, under John Knox, was practising Christian charity!

Mary had been forced to sign her abdication at Lochleven in favor of her infant son who was crowned at Stirling. On May the second she escaped from Lochleven

and put herself at the head of an army of six thousand men, who were defeated by Regent Murray near Glasgow. In spite of the advice of her friends, Mary crossed the Solway and threw herself upon the protection of Elizabeth, who had intervened in her behalf. Once on the English side of the border, Mary was removed from Carlisle to Bolton Castle to await the queen of England's review of the case between the Scottish queen and her people. Since she was denied the personal interview with the queen which she demanded, pending the review of her case, Mary became suspicious; yet, as she had no choice, she submitted to the proposed conferences which began at York on October the eighth, 1568, but were transferred to Westminster toward the end of November. Her illegitimate half-brother, Murray, now regent in the name of her son, played into the hands of her enemies. It was he who secretly sent the famous casket letters and the so-called matrimonial pacts with Bothwell to the English government to ascertain if they were sufficient evidence to prove the queen's guilt.

Mary accused Murray of usurping the government of Scotland by imprisoning the lawful queen, thus placing him on the defensive. He was evasive and tried once again to learn the value of the casket letters from the judges before submitting them at the trial; thus rendering his "proofs" of Mary's guilt anything but conclusive. It is possible that at the time Murray would have been willing to come to terms with the imprisoned queen, but not so Elizabeth! She had her rival in her power at long last, and she had a weapon in her hands which she did not mean to relinquish. Murray was received by Elizabeth, while Mary was not admitted to the royal presence.

This audience Mary demanded through her representatives, Bishop Leslie and Lord Herries, stipulating that it

should be held, not only in the presence of Elizabeth, but also that the foreign ambassadors and the English nobility should attend — thus, she felt, assuring her an impartial hearing. Her emissaries did not follow up her demand, but allowed themselves to be cajoled and won over by the wily Cecil and Leicester, who suggested that the matter "might be settled amicably." Meanwhile, after his audience with Elizabeth, Murray completely changed his tactics. He now accused Mary, not only of implication in the murder of her husband but even of a plot to do away with her only son! Cecil denied the protest of Mary's ministers on the ground of some illegality; but before the protest was presented in amended form, Cecil had prevailed upon Murray to present his "evidence" at the trial which included the casket letters and Mary's deposition by the Scottish parliament. Her sentence was placed in the hands of six nobles at Hampton Court. Strange to say, it did not concern itself with the queen's guilt or innocence, but merely advised that the queen of England could not receive the Scottish queen "as things stood!"

The more dangerous and compromised her position, the braver the Queen of Scots becomes! She takes the offensive against her enemies. From her place of imprisonment at Bolton Castle, not only does she deny any connection with the murder of her husband, but she names her accusers as the real culprits! The result of this tactical right-about-face — Murray and Morton are publicly accused of regicide before the queen's council on the day before Christmas, 1568! Encouraged by this turn of events, the Queen of Scots writes another letter in which she again accuses her accusers, and declares that the unnatural charge that she intended to murder her only son was in itself sufficient proof of the worthlessness of the other charges brought against her by her enemies. These letters

of Mary are still extant, and prove beyond a doubt not only her innocence but also her resourcefulness and courage under the most terrifying circumstances. Moreover, Mary demanded that she be presented with copies of the charges brought against her, that she might refute them.

Elizabeth pretended she thought Mary's demand "very reasonable," and that she was overjoyed that "her sister" was ready to vindicate herself; but, nevertheless, she took good care that the Scottish queen never was given an opportunity of a public hearing! Machiavelli would have applauded this perfect performance of "princely diplomacy" in his apt pupil!

In view of the suppression of the Huguenots in France and Alba's victory in the Netherlands, Cecil and the Protestant party were urging Elizabeth to put herself at the head of Protestantism in Europe, to declare war on Alba, and to send Mary back to Scotland.[12] The Catholics wanted peace, and the queen's recognition of Mary's rights to succession in England. As usual, Elizabeth adopted the middle course. She supported the Huguenots with loans of money. And she seized the Spanish ships (laden with large sums of money[13] for the soldiers' pay) which had taken refuge from the pirates at Southampton and Plymouth. In retaliation, Alba seized English ships and property in the Netherlands. Then Elizabeth confiscated the property of Spaniards in England. The queen's alibi that the money stolen from the ships belonged to the Genoese bankers, and not to Alba, that she had "borrowed it," was a characteristic Machiavellian platitude which falsely proclaimed that princes are not bound by the same moral restrictions as are common people. Yet, in spite of her high-handed banditry, Philip II did not

[12] Creighton, *The Age of Elizabeth.*

[13] Said to have approximated 100,000 pounds sterling.

allow the insult to provoke him to war with England. He was preoccupied with the Netherlands and with the Moors and he did not intend to take on another enemy at the time.

Murray was called to Hampton Court and, provided with substantial sums of money as a reward for his services to the queen of England, was told that he was exonerated from the charges brought against him, and was thus free to return to Scotland. The attitude of the English government regarding the casket letters was so evasive that — to say the least — the suspicion of their forgery has persisted.

Mary remained a prisoner in Elizabeth's power on the flimsiest of pretexts, not because she had been proved guilty of the charges brought against her, but out of fear of what she might do. She was a constant threat to the English queen as long as she lived, for the following of the Queen of Scots was powerful, and the English people were not entirely devoid of a sense of justice and chivalry in regard to the treatment of an anointed queen. Many Englishmen ardently hoped that in the Queen of Scots England and Scotland might be united; and the Catholics longed for the restoration of the Old Religion. During her long imprisonment of nineteen years one conspiracy after another was discovered. The most practicable plan, which seemed to offer some hope for the Scottish queen, was the proposed marriage of Mary to the duke of Norfolk. This proposal was welcomed by Norfolk himself, and by the Catholic earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Mary herself was ready to submit the matter to the Scottish parliament. She was willing to break off whatever ties still bound her to Bothwell, in which step she knew she could count upon the Pope's full support. But once again Murray blocked such a proposal, and those nobles, who

had pretended to be shocked by her marriage to Bothwell, were now the very ones who would not listen to an annulment of the marriage! Elizabeth's displeasure against Norfolk was so severe that he was imprisoned in the Tower, though no charge of treason could be found against him.

The religious discontent of the English Catholics became more assertive and more widely spread with the years of continued imprisonment of Mary of Scots. Their enthusiasm, which had been dampened by her marriage to Bothwell, and the Pope's disapproval of her conduct, was rekindled when the ending of the conferences of Westminster signalized her vindication and acquittal. And Pius V, viewing these proceedings from his watchtower in the Eternal City, began to change his attitude toward the Scottish queen whose courage and loyalty to her religion became increasingly manifest. Mary's sufferings at the hands of the queen of England (whom Pius spoke of as "the pretended queen of England," and whom he considered "a crowned criminal" for her suppression of the religion of her subjects) began to evoke the sympathies of the pontiff even while he was plagued with doubts concerning her. On May the ninth, 1569, a letter to Archbishop Beaton reassured Mary of the Pope's faith in her; and on January the ninth, 1570, Pius V replied to a letter from the Scottish queen, telling her he had written to the kings of Spain and France in her behalf; and that he was satisfied in his own mind that her sufferings were inflicted upon her solely because of her loyalty to the Catholic Faith. His confidence in her became so absolute that Pius wrote Mary in July of 1570 that he was sure that neither threats nor bribes could ever detach her from the communion and obedience of the Church.

Now that his trust in the Scottish queen was completely revived, Pius felt his plans to bring back England to her

ancient faith might assume concrete form. He hoped that Alba would invade England, and by his sword restore the country to the Catholic Church. Alba's reply was that it would be futile to ask France to cooperate; that the best plan was to conquer England in Philip's name, or to bestow the kingdom upon an English nobleman who should marry Mary. Pius undoubtedly believed that strong support would be given Mary under such a plan, and that the Catholics would arise en masse against Elizabeth. He knew the prisons were filled with Catholics, and that the older Catholics could not be swerved from their Faith; but he feared for the children who, deprived of the instruction of the Church for a generation, would be completely weaned away from the Faith.[14] Many Catholics took the point of view that it was lawful to oppose the English queen on the Scriptural injunction that "they must obey God rather than man." Others thought they must await a definite papal pronouncement to guide them. Pius was well aware that to obtain unity of action among the English Catholics a papal pronouncement must be made. Accordingly, to discover what sort of reception his contemplated excommunication of the queen of England would be given, he sent Nicholas Morton, penitentiary of St. Peter's in Rome, to England in the spring of 1569.

By the middle of summer of this same year, the support that Mary could count upon was so strong that Elizabeth appears to have been terrified. She feared an attack from Spain; and at the same time she was well aware of the enthusiasm displayed for Mary which she said reminded her of "Absalom's revolt against David."

But Philip's customary hesitation and Alba's unwillingness to jeopardize his gains in the Netherlands, and to

[14] As, in our own day, Pius XI expressed a like fear for the youth of Russia and Germany.

capitalize on the sentiment for Mary and so seize the psychological moment for an uprising, were some of the causes for the disastrous outcome of the revolt in the north. Philip II, with his personal experience of English sentiment, undoubtedly knew the insular temper of English patriots. He was aware they did not want an invasion of their country by a foreign potentate to rescue them from Elizabeth; even though they would have welcomed and supported a reconstituted England united to Scotland under Mary and a husband of the English Catholic nobility.

Mary had many offers of marriage during the summer of 1569 from English nobles who were willing to gamble on their fortunes and lives in her behalf. Norfolk was still in the Tower and the earls of Westmoreland and of Northumberland were faced with the choice of being forced to share his imprisonment or take up arms. They issued an appeal to the people in which they stated their loyalty to the queen of England, but declared they were rising to rescue England and the crown from Elizabeth's false advisers who were leading her and the country to destruction. If Mary had been freed by force from her prison, and been visible as a rallying focus, she might have been successful in restoring Catholicism, even though, like the Maid of Orleans, she sacrificed herself in the attempt. But the earls did not dare to attempt Mary's deliverance, for they feared for her life; and, as it was, she was removed from Tutbury to Conventry when an armed force of eight hundred horsemen marched south.

Sussex was avoiding a pitched battle on the presumed assumption that the uprising might prove so formidable that he could shift sides at the propitious moment. But, after a lapse of over a week, when the assistance of Alba did not materialize, the earl of Warwick marched south

and joined Sussex, and the insurgents dispersed ignominiously. Northumberland and Westmoreland fled across the Scottish border, and with their flight the Catholics in the north were divided.

No blood was shed in the uprising. But Elizabeth's victory cost a terrible price in human lives. Elizabeth seemed crazed by fright. The poor, who had no power, were publicly hanged as an example. In Durham alone Sussex condemned over three hundred to the gallows. More than nine hundred perished during the orgy of terror.[15] Elizabeth desired to proceed against even more malcontents who had had any share in the uprising, but she desisted when her crown lawyers pointed out to her it would mean the wiping out of whole populations. But those who were not put to death were forced to take the Oath of Supremacy. Yet, in spite of the severity inflicted by the crown, another uprising under Leonard Dacre took place in February of 1570, but this likewise resulted in the annihilation of three thousand followers. Dacre fled to Flanders after crossing the Scottish border.

The English ports were so strictly guarded that the English Catholic exiles in the Low Countries were out of touch with happenings in their own country; and so it appears that as late as February fourteenth, 1570, the outcome of the uprising in England was not known at Louvain where Nicholas Sanders continued to write to Rome, urging the Pope "to give help to the two Catholic earls who have taken up arms in the Catholic cause."[16] Indeed, four thousand exiles had returned to Scotland,

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[15] "I guess the number will be 600 or 700 that shall be executed of the common sort, besides the prisoners taken in the field. I trust to use such discretion as that no sort shall escape from example, and that the example shall be very great." The Earl of Sussex to Cecil in a letter dated December 28, 1569. Green, Addenda, 1566–1579, p. 169.

[16] Northumberland and Westmoreland.

there to await the Pope's decision in order to come to their aid, and to encourage the nobles to make a stand for their faith. Their allegiance was vouched for if the Pope would promise the nobles they might retain their property filched from the Church. Pius V was urged not to abandon the Catholics after making such a good beginning. Furthermore a letter came to the pontiff from the duchess of Feria which clearly stated that Philip II meant to come to the aid of the English Catholics.

As had happened in Flanders, news of the uprising and its fatal outcome did not reach Rome until too late to be useful to the insurgents. Westmoreland and Northumberland sent an urgent plea to the Pope for help a week before the attempted revolt; but it did not reach the pontiff for three months! In these days of rapid communication and almost instant flashing of news from all over the globe, it is hard to realize under what handicaps the Pope of Rome labored in giving the assistance he desired to offer for the preservation of the faith in Europe. By the time a letter reached him, and before he could reply by papal brief, months had been lost, so that his intentions and will were frustrated by the unpredictable element of time. Thus he wrote to the English earls on February the twenty-second, 1570, one week after their appeal for help arrived in Rome, in reply to a letter which was dated November sixteenth, 1569!

In this letter Pius tried to infuse hope and courage in the hearts of the men who, he was satisfied, were engaged in the Lord's business. He told them frankly that it was preferable for them to lose their lives in such a just cause, rather than to continue to live under the domination of a woman who was not their lawful queen, and who was ruled by her caprices. They must be prepared to sacrifice their life and property in the cause of religion.

Pius had recourse to those English exiles who were in Rome; but he was too wise not to know they had been too long out of touch with affairs in their own country,[17] to rely wholly on their advice. But when Nicholas Morton advised the Pope that the time for action had arrived, Pius was convinced that all that was wanting was a papal denunciation of the heresy of the "pretended queen." That all should be legal, Pius summoned the refugees and asked them to testify regarding six questions: namely, that Elizabeth had assumed the title of "Head of the Church of England";[18] that she had deposed accredited bishops and put schismatics in their places; that she had given to Protestant bishops the right of visitation and had compelled all in positions of trust in the government to take the oath against the supremacy of the pontiff of Rome; that she lived the life of a heretic while having it in her power to put down heresy.

The Bull against Elizabeth, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which has occasioned so much historical controversy, was solemnly pronounced against the queen of England on February the twenty-fifth, 1570. In the bull Pius states that, as Vicar of Christ, he is performing his duty of preserving from corruption all who departed from the one true Church, and the punishing of apostates. In the discharge of this duty, Pius condemns Elizabeth as guilty of heresy and of encouraging heresy; and hence she has forfeited her "pretended right" to the English throne, as well as the allegiance of her subjects who are no longer bound

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[17] Ten years.

[18] Much debate has been wasted on this claim of the queen as "head of the church of England." It must be remembered that the Oath of Supremacy was in the hands of the Holy See, and that the queries of the Pontiff were mere form to keep the papal record straight. Protestant polemics go too far when they question the title of "head of the church," employed by Pius V in the Bull of Excommunication.

by any loyalty to her; and under pain of excommunication must discontinue their obedience to her.

Pius declared to Zuñiga, the Spanish ambassador, that he issued the Bull in response to the request of the English Catholics who had scruples concerning their duty regarding the queen as long as the Pope did not declare her a heretic and issue a deposition against her. He could not in conscience disregard their appeal for a clear papal statement. At the end of March, 1570, copies of the Bull were sent to Alba who was to display them at the seaports of Flanders where the English merchants would take the news across the Channel. It was sent to France and to Poland; and about eighty copies of the bull were entrusted to the Florentine banker, Ridolfi, to distribute in England.

Neither from Alba nor from the king of France did Pius receive the cooperation he had been led to expect. But the bull was found fastened to the doors of the bishop of London's palace on the morning of May twenty-fifth, 1570. John Felton, a highly esteemed citizen of Southwark, was suspected and arrested for posting the bull. He confessed and died a martyr's death while stoutly proclaiming his adherence to papal authority up to the very last.

Philip II, upon whom the execution of the bull would naturally fall, was not advised of its publication. This shows that Pius V intended to enlighten the English,[19] rather than to execute its provisions. Philip was angry that he was not consulted; since, as he asserted, he knew more about English affairs than any other foreigner. He and the Spanish ambassador said it was premature, and that it should not have been released until all was in readi-

[19] Pastor's explanation.

ness for its execution – an argument that seems to have much to commend it. The Spanish king declared that Pius seemed to think that his own zeal was a guarantee of success; but that he, the king, feared that the position of English Catholics was jeopardized by its publication; and that the Pope seemed to forget Philip's position as the leader of Catholicism in Europe. Zuñiga protested to Pius, and told his Holiness that the lack of mention of his monarch's name in the bull implied that the Pope was showing favoritism to France. Did he not know that Philip would never allow the king of France to set foot in England? Philip protested his innocence regarding the papal bull in a letter to Elizabeth, which was almost apologetic. But his ambassador was, nevertheless, by order of the queen, forcibly ejected from England.

All the efforts of the Spanish ambassador to try to get the pontiff to withdraw the bull were, however, futile. And Alba's protests to the Pope were likewise ineffectual. Once Pius V had drawn the sword of Saint Michael, he refused to sheathe it! The outcome was with God. To avoid undue suffering for the Catholics, Pius favored the suggestion of an economic boycott which was put forward by an Italian merchant as a way out of the papal dilemma. Let the bull be openly published in Spain, France, and Flanders. Then let the kings of France and Spain refuse to trade with England. The blockade would force Elizabeth to give way and to grant to Catholics their religious rights; while, at the same time, she would withdraw her reliance upon Cecil and the Protestant party. But Philip II considered the plan would prove ineffectual; and the economic blockade fell through.

Yet, although the political gains of the bull appeared to be *nil,* the bull did achieve much, and caused the queen great uneasiness. A rising tide of discontent among

English Catholics was evident. After a visitation by the Protestant bishop of Durham, he reported that "the greater part of the people were eagerly awaiting the first sign of fresh disturbance." In Lancashire the people were openly hostile to the Anglican worship. Bishop Barnes of Carlisle wrote to Sussex[20] in October of 1570 that "All things in Lancashire savoured of open rebellion. . . . Since Felton set up the Bull, the greatest there never came to any service nor suffered any to be said in their houses, but openly entertained Louvainist massers with their bulls." And the countess of Northumberland wrote to Alba that in Lancashire *"Apres qu'ils ont eu conaissance de l'excommunication faite contre la personne de la Royne d'Angleterre"* the Catholic worship was restored in their homes and parishes. These were the true *recusants,* whose numbers were legion. The conscience of these Catholics was deeply stirred by the papal bull.

Although the queen of England pretended to scorn the Bull of Excommunication, she nevertheless used her influence with Maximilian II to persuade the pontiff to withdraw it. To this ruse the Pope stoutly refused to comply. "If," he asked, "the queen attributes no importance to the Bull, why is she desirous of having it withdrawn? And if it is important to her and pricks her conscience, why does she not return to the Church and allow

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[20] Sussex wrote to Elizabeth that "there were not ten gentlemen in Yorkshire that did allow (approve) her proceedings in the cause of religion."

"The Catholics of the north withdrew stubbornly from the national worship. Everywhere the number of recusants increased. Intrigues were busier than ever. The regent Murray was assassinated, and Scotland plunged into war . . ." Green's *Short History of the English People,* p. 390.

"The disaffection of the Catholics was met by imposing on all magistrates and public officials the obligation of subscribing to the Articles of Faith, a measure which in fact transferred the administration of justice and public order to their Protestant opponents." *Ibid.,* p. 391.

the same privilege to her subjects?" or words to that effect. As for the pontiff himself, if he could do anything to extinguish her hatred, even to the shedding of his blood, he would gladly renounce his papal dignity to achieve such a *summum bonum.*

But, instead of listening to the voice from Rome, Elizabeth retaliated to the papal bull by permitting the publication of the most vulgar gibes against the Head of the Church. These were followed by the issuing of new laws, when Parliament assembled on April the second, 1571, which were plainly aimed at the Catholic subjects of England. High treason was the charge against anyone who, during the queen's lifetime, should claim the right to the throne; or who should dare to assert that the queen was a heretic or a schismatic; or that she had usurped the crown; or who refused to acknowledge that Parliament alone determined the succession. The same charge of high treason was applied to anyone who heeded a papal bull or brief, or to any Englishman who asked for or obtained absolution, or who accepted objects blessed by the Pope.

This was the last excommunication of a monarch by a pontiff of Rome, which seems to imply that the weapon which the popes had used so effectively in the Middle Ages was, from the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, obsolete and futile. Already the state had become too powerful to fear the upraised arm of the Vicar of Christ. Caesar triumphed over Christ in England under Elizabeth[21] who

[21] These considered evaluations of the Reformation in England from notable Englishmen are worth pondering:

"Doubtless the National Church has hitherto been a serviceable breakwater against the doctrinal errors more fundamental than its own. How long this will last in the years now before us, it is impossible to say, for the Nation drags down its Church to its own level." H. E. John Henry Newman (1864).

"The Reformation, no doubt, cost much. It broke up the Visible Unity so dear to Christians who believe our Lord's universal prayer in St. John

was to inagurate an era of commercialism, where money is God and might is right. It was a blasphemous, luxurious, riotous epoch – the perfect product of that Renaissance which saw in the Elizabethan Age the flowering of the most glorious poetry, the boldest adventure, and the most ruthless piracy and heartless slave trade, and which initiated a period[22] whose subtle hypocrisy may be characterized as the mailed fist in the velvet glove. Spain's empire was already dying for lack of the sinews to hold it together – *money,* which the British buccaneers did not hesitate to appropriate whenever their ships could search Spain's galleons and seize her gold. The canny Elizabeth

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and the Epistle of the Ephesians, to be part of the Word of God. It bred a race of violent experimentalists who were in their turn enemies of Faith, of Charity, and of Order." Dr. Canon Liddon's Sermon in St. Mary's, Oxford, reported in *The Guardian* of June 25, 1879.

". . . I believe that the chief and most important work which was done by the Reformation was to render the things of Christ unto Caesar. I shall always strive, to the best of my humble ability to give back to God the things of God. And the cuckoo-cry of 'the principles of the Reformation are in danger' certainly will not scare me from my purpose. If the Reformation gentlemen considered themselves justified, as I suppose they did, in upsetting the Settlement of Magna-Charta, a settlement brought about and cemented by the martyrdom of our most glorious saint and patron, St. Thomas; why should I for a moment hesitate in doing my best to strive to alter the Reformation Settlement and go back to that of Magna-Charta and St. Thomas?" *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,* a sermon by the Rev. T. W. Mossman, O.C.R., pp. 14, 15, London, 1879.

[22] "Protestantism became the ally of commercial enterprise, and their union begat Elizabethan 'sea divinity' and the slave-trade." A. F. Pollard, Fellow of the Academy, in his *Raleigh Lecture on History,* entitled *The Elizabethans and the Empire,* 1928.

The papal attitude toward slavery has always been uncompromising and forthright; even at a time when it was unpopular to denounce it. Thus in 1462 Pius II declared that slavery is *magnum scelus,* a great crime. In 1537 Paul III forbade the enslavement of the Indians; and so on down the line of pontiffs! Urban VIII in 1639, Benedict XIV in 1741. Pius VII, at the Congress of Vienna, demanded the suppression of the slave trade in 1815; and in his Bull of Canonization of the Jesuit Peter Claver, Gregory XVI condemned slavery as the supreme villany (*summum nefas*). In these enlightened United States of America it was not until 1864 that it was put down after a bloody and cruel civil war lasting four years!

knew she could not compete with Spain's land army, but she could and did foil her rival's designs by chicanery and robbery on the high sea. It was the discovery of sea power by the Tudors that changed the course of English history and the fortunes of the world.

9

PIUS V'S POLICIES IN POLAND

IT WAS Pius V's tragic destiny that his pontificate covered a period which was unique in European history; for the sixteenth century presented unprecedented problems whose attempted solution might well have terrified the stoutest heart and palsied the bravest effort. That his right arm did not fall, nor the sword of his spirit waver, was due to no earthly power! His reliance was on Christ; his refreshment and renewal came in prayerful communion with the Holy Spirit; his courage was revivified by an unfaltering faith in the universal mission of the Church which here on earth he represented, in whose service he daily offered up his life and labors as the "Servant of the servants of God." Often, when deluged by the multitudinous baffling problems which never abated, and from which he never flinched, he did indeed glance back with a nostalgic longing to the peace and quiet of his convent enclosure, within whose walls he had hoped to die; but as Pontiff of Christendom he sought and found in daily prayer the support and supernatural strength he needed. He knew that sweet refreshment and infused renewal which comes even to the very aged and the afflicted, when, in childlike reliance on God's tender mercy, their youth is renewed like the eagle's, and they arise with new strength!

We have glanced over the European scene and witnessed his untiring labors for reform and the preservation of the faith in his own beloved Italy; in torn and tortured Germany; in Catholic Spain where he should have had complete cooperation and unquestioned obedience; in the Netherlands where the passion for liberty had degenerated into lawless license and unbridled orgies of destruction of God's houses; in France where the dynastic ambition of a foreign queen betrayed the true French interests of her people, until the very excesses of the interminable religious wars awoke in the French a reassertion of their ancient Faith, and saved that delectable land to the Church; and, finally, we have seen how the contest between the Church and Elizabethan England ended in the apparent (but not ultimate) victory of Caesar over Christ, while Scotland, under the iron heel of John Knox and the avaricious lords of the realm, repudiated the Faith that had prevailed for so many centuries until Protestantism finally assumed the dominant position during the eighteen long and terrible years that the queen of the Scots languished in prison.

But western Europe did not absorb the pontiff so completely that he ignored eastern Europe, or the far reaches beyond the seas. Before his peering vigilance in that perspective of time and space which is spoken of as *sub specie aeternitatis,* Pius V saw the whole world in jeopardy. It may be questioned if he did not envision in the far distant future of our own day, the inevitable harvest which a broken Christendom would inherit, unless heed were given to his exhortations and obedience to divine authority were maintained in the hearts of men. Thus, in spite of ill-health and the burden of advancing years, Pius V labored on without hope of respite in this world. His rest and reward were in heaven.

In the time of which we write, Poland was a mighty kingdom, to which Lithuania was indissolubly joined in 1569 and Livonia[1] was later added, with Warsaw as the capital. Saved from schism and a national church, by the sovereign's acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, the kingdom ruled over by Sigismund Augustus caused the pontiff many an anxious hour of apprehension. Many of Poland's higher clergy were lethargic and apathetic. They were leading lives that were anything but spiritual. Well aware of the weakness of the government in protecting the Catholic rights of the people, and improving the condition of the Church, Pius IV had chosen with great wisdom a man of rare attainments and character to represent the papacy as nuncio to Poland. Pius V confirmed his reappointment; for he knew in what high esteem Giulio Ruggieri was held. Cardinal Madruzzo had given Ruggieri the highest praise in a letter to Commendone, in which he spoke of the distinguished nuncio as *virtuoso e buono*. Hence his confirmation by Pius V was in keeping with the scrupulous care with which the pontiff selected his lieutenants.

Pius instructed Ruggieri that, before assuming his duties as nuncio, he should proceed to Augsburg to learn from Commendone, the former nuncio to Poland, all that should facilitate his duties at Warsaw. The king's proposed divorce was a matter of special import. Pius further instructed Ruggieri upon the necessity of prudence in his conduct of Polish affairs, where many heretics had begun to worm their way into positions of trust and influence. A reform of the monasteries was imperative, Pius told the nuncio; also he must strive to revoke the decree of 1563 restricting the liberties of the Church, and remind

[1] The southern half of which, with Courland, comprises modern Latvia.

the king to keep his promise to Commendone to proceed against the heretics who were boring within. The emphasis Pius placed upon ecclesiastical reform was entirely in keeping with his zeal for cleansing and renewing the entire framework of monastic discipline everywhere. The duty of residence was demanded of the bishops, together with the scrupulous adherence of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Furthermore, no change in ritual and ceremonial was to be tolerated. For well did Pius V know how vital these outward forms are to the preservation of a pure and unadulterated Catholicism!

In the middle of June, Ruggieri arrived in Poland while the Diet of Lublin was in progress. Here he witnessed a lack of unity in the Polish episcopate which was dismaying to the newly-arrived papal legate. In conjunction with Cardinal Hosius, Ruggieri sought to heal the dispute between Archbishop Uchanski and Bishop Wolski; and to work for the assembling of a provincial synod. The dispute was settled by the intervention of Ruggieri and Hosius, but the synod was postponed.

The papal cause in Poland received a setback in the summer of 1567 by the deflection from the Faith of Bishop Andreas Dudith, who was imperial ambassador at the court of the king. He had been under papal suspicion since his eloquence at the Council of Trent had been employed to support unecclesiastical views. He broke his vows, married a court lady of the queen, and openly proclaimed himself a Protestant. Pius V did not hesitate to pronounce excommunication, and demanded the apostate's recall.

The papal nuncio drew up an exhaustive account of the religious, political, and economic condition of the Kingdom of Poland. In this detailed report which the nuncio prepared for the pontiff, Ruggieri points out that

in all Poland there is only one province — that of Masowein — that is free from heresy, and is "as Catholic as Italy." While the number of Catholics vastly exceeds the number of Protestants in every province and their loyalty to the Faith is comparable to that of old Poland before Protestantism existed, yet the number of Protestant sects is so great that the nuncio compares them to the confusion of tongues in the Tower of Babel. Refugees from Italy, Germany, and Geneva had flocked to Poland, bringing every brand of Protestantism with them. The Calvinists of Little Poland and Lithuania were busy trying to drive out the Antitrinitarians and the Anabaptists. Lutherans had been strong in Greater Poland and in Prussia, but were now being superseded by Calvinists; yet they joined with the Calvinists to combat their latest rivals. In his report, Ruggieri cites the causes of the spread of Protestantism in Poland. These are: the greed of the laity for Church property; the bad example of the higher clergy; and the decline of monastic discipline. To the king's plea that, because of the powerful nobles, he lacks the ability to handle the difficult and confused religious situation, Ruggieri asks why in Lithuania, where the nobles are *not* powerful, things are even worse than in Poland? Disregard for law, the legate says, is one of the chief causes of confusion. The king is easygoing, and opposed to any strictness of reform; and the constant wars with Russia are sapping the national strength and resources.

To combat these evils, the nuncio recommends that a papal representative should always be present at the court of the king, who should be ready to recall the sovereign to his duty. This lack of a papal nuncio had been, Ruggieri believed, largely the cause of the tremendous strides the adherents of the multitudinous sects had made in

Polish affairs; for when Pius V's predecessor had sent him as representative, there was a conspicuous decline in the prevalent heresies. To further promote the rejuvenation of a virile Catholic life in Poland, Ruggieri advised that the sons of the nobles should be sent to Rome to receive their education, so that upon their return they might act as a leaven to quicken Catholic culture. Because he believed so strongly that the king had it in his hands to restore the Catholic religion to its pristine beauty, he urged that Pius insist that Sigismund Augustus should nominate only zealous Catholics for episcopal sees, and remove from his court all who were following the new religion. The bishops should assist, by their vast influence, all the teachers and preachers and writers upon whom they might count to further the work of Catholic action. These suggestions would result in a healthy revival of the Catholic Faith, the beginnings of which were already evident after a year and a half of his own nunciature, when more than ten thousand persons had come back to their earlier faith.

On the one hand, the nuncio saw how the Protestant sects were constantly bickering among themselves, if not engaged in open warfare. On the other, Ruggieri could point with justifiable satisfaction to the improved condition in Danzig and in Elbing where, owing to the efforts of those soldiers of the Cross, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, the Catholic religion had been completely restored. Jesuit colleges had been erected at Braunsberg (1565) at Elbing and at Pultusk (1566); in Jaroslaw (1568); and in Vilna (1570). The zeal of these sons of Saint Ignatius filled the papal legate with profound joy and hope for the future of Poland; for, so excellent were these men as teachers, that Protestant parents were eager to enroll their children in Jesuit schools in which the Catholic

spirit prevailed. A Jesuit college at Posen was in the offing, and other cities were clamoring for them. With such a bright outlook, the papal nuncio reassured the pontiff that great results might be expected.

This promotion of seminaries and colleges was entirely in keeping with Pius V's desires, and when Vincenzo di Portico succeeded Ruggieri as nuncio, in July of 1568, and arrived at Cracow, the pontiff urged him to press for a provincial synod; but, owing to the political shifting of Bishop Uchanski, nothing came of his efforts. At the Diet of Lublin, which opened in mid-winter of 1568, both Portico and Hosius were present. Cardinal Hosius distinguished himself in the discussions of the Diet, and while he was present the Protestants did not put forward any claims. Upon his departure, however, they became active, although their demands came to naught. It was as a result of this Diet that Luthuania came under the Crown of Poland. After leaving the administration of his diocese in the hands of his able and stanch friend, Martin Cromer, in August of 1569, Cardinal Hosius began preparations for visiting the Eternal City, which he reached on November the eighth of the same year.

While in Rome, Hosius kept in close touch with affairs in Poland. A federal union of the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brothers was achieved at Sandomir in April of 1570, which caused much uneasiness among the Catholics who were awaiting the coming Diet at Warsaw. But, although the Diet was riotous with the persistent claims of the Protestants for complete religious liberty for everybody, they were offset by the senate which was for the most part Catholic in its make-up. The opponents were too evenly matched, and so there was a deadlock and no decisions were forthcoming about these weighty matters. Moreover, Bishop Uchanski continued his am-

biguous and shifty policy in trying to appease everybody. This political policy was heartily condemned by Hosius in a letter to the bishop, who declared it un-Christian, since Christian ethics required a forthright uncompromising statement of faith. Far wiser and more Christian it would be to declare that they were ready to suffer any indignities rather than to compromise their faith. These false representatives of the Church were wasting their integrity by talking about religious harmony with men who could not come to any concord among themselves, but were, like the heroes of Homer, constantly quarreling among themselves. The proper course for Uchanski was to recall the king to his duty, and not to permit futile discussions of religious questions which belonged to the Pope alone. With a courage and conviction born of a profound faith, Hosius wrote to the king of Poland, and to the magnates of the kingdom the most straightforward letters. He asks the king to look at France, and wants to know if the confusion and warfare there is what Sigismund desires in Poland. To avoid such a fate the sovereign has but one course — to appoint only true and tried Catholics to the great offices of state.

The proposed divorce which Sigismund Augustus demanded from his queen caused the greatest apprehension among earnest Catholics, for had not England's apostasy been the result of a divorce? Might not their sovereign, like Henry VIII, break Catholic unity upon the same rock of personal passion? It was said that the king was suffering from epilepsy, and that his mind was deranged, or he would not have entertained the wild hope that Pius V would annul the marriage with Queen Catherine. Moreover, the nobility, whose ranks were largely committed to the new religion in the hope of personal gain, were backing the divorce of the king, promising him not only

their support, but also that of the German Lutheran princes.

The Pope's customary perspicacity seems to have failed him for once in the appointment by Pius of Portico as nuncio to succeed Ruggieri, who proved very inadequate. To conceal his impotence in a post too big for him, Portico sent in colored and misleading reports to the Holy See. So close was he in the favor of the king that the sovereign sought to ask for the purple for his amenable courtier-nuncio. The further Portico departed from strict adherence to his duties as representative of the Pope, the more he sought to cover up the true state of affairs in the king's personal life, which was anything but moral; and might result in the most serious consequences for his kingdom. But Rome was well informed through her trusted emissaries of the true state of affairs at the Polish court. Letters from Nicholas Cromer to Martin Cromer had arrived at the Eternal City which were very revealing; and Graziani wrote to Commendone from Padua (May 21, 1571) confirming all that Nicholas Cromer had written. Reports from Commendone to the Bishop of Torcello (dated November 27, 1571) are preserved in the Graziani Archives, at Città di Castello. They are full of material dealing with the dangerous situation in Poland, due in large part to the domestic conflicts between the king and queen.

But Pius V always had the eminent, distinguished, and zealous Commendone to fall back upon as his trusted envoy. He arrived in Warsaw after journeying through plague-infested districts and over frozen roads that were almost impassable. The king received him graciously, in spite of the fact that he was suffering from a bad attack of gout. Commendone did not mince matters, but plunged at once into a discussion of the king's divorce. He told

him it was utterly impossible for the Pope to grant the desired divorce. He spoke eloquently about the sanctity of the marriage vow. As he had suspected, the chief foe of the Church at the court was the faithless Uchanski, the Archbishop of Gnesen, who was without principle or loyalty to the Holy See and the religion he professed.

Commendone did not cease to appeal with all his eloquence to the king against the divorce proceedings which he feared would come up at the impending Diet. He left no stone unturned in trying to dissuade the king from his course, declaring a Catholic marriage was a true sacrament and was indissoluble, and that he knew full well that the Pope would not swerve from his duty in the matter of granting the divorce. He reminded the king that Henry VIII had not had a moment's peace; and he might have added (had he possessed the foresight) that none of his three children were able to bear offspring and heirs to the throne! Thus do the sins of the fathers visit the children.

An act of God settled the whole matter of the king's divorce. Queen Catherine died suddenly at Linz in the winter of 1572. Deprived of the chief obstacle to his divorce, the king was so shaken by her death that he was bowed with grief and, in spite of the removal of his wife, never spoke of another marriage!

While Commendone was fighting with all his might against the divorce, he had been busy urging that Poland join the League against the Turks. This matter the king referred to the Diet which was very much opposed to the idea. In spite of Commendone's efforts, all his eloquence was lost on the senate, which took the ground that so long as the kingdom was not disturbed by the Turks, Poland would not join the League. Commendone's prudent and courageous conduct at the Diet has been

attested to in the dispatches which constantly arrived in Rome and which are extant in the papal archives.

Due to the king's lustful life, he was wasting away with disease, and now became rapidly worse. As he had no children, and was hence the last of his line of Jagellons, the gravest fears about the election of a new monarch were entertained in Rome. These fears were more than justified.

10

PIUS V'S MISSIONARY LABORS

IN NO department of his multitudinous activities did Pius V exhibit so conspicuously that trait, fundamentally characteristic of him, which for want of a better term we have called his "practical spirituality," as in his labors in the missionary field. In this respect he was thoroughly modern in his approach, and seems to have anticipated Pius XI, whose exemplar and model he undoubtedly was. From the first, Michele Ghislieri's broad grasp of executive problems had been displayed as prior of the Dominican convents which he supervised. He freed them from debt by the strictest economy and by reorganizing their several departments. He was a thoroughly practical and, we might say, modern man of affairs, reliable in every business detail and a competent executive. He further combined, in a rare degree, prudence and courage. This quality of husbanding his resources, while at the same time ready to risk all if circumstances demanded it, made him an efficient soldier of Christ.

There was nothing quixotic in his approach to the conversion of pagans and infidels and primitive peoples. The soundest principles and the most prudent forethought, guided by divine assistance and consecrated by prayer, kept him from dissipating his strength. While no one appreciated courage and fortitude more than Pius did,

he exhorted his missionaries not to risk their lives recklessly in their desire to achieve martyrdom. Their purpose was to *convert,* to teach and to minister; and the laborers in the Lord's vineyard were all too few; while the harvest of souls was abundant. And, like Achille Ratti, Michele Ghislieri urged native priests and teachers, as soon as they could be trained, to take over the work of the missioners who might then be released for new fields. This wise procedure seems at the time to have been a new departure and a novel tactic.

The ardor with which Catholic missionaries undertook their tasks was entirely in the best tradition of the Apostles themselves, who took literally the words of their Master: "Go ye, therefore, and preach the Gospel to every creature, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." There was nothing equivocal about that injunction to the missionaries of the sixteenth century – nor has there ever been to true Catholics at any time. Men on fire with the healing Gospel of Christ have had no choice but to obey the divine injunction. In such a spirit St. Francis Xavier had gone forth to lift the heathen to the light of Christ. This *Apostle of the Indies* died at the age of forty-six, alone on the island of Sancian, after two and a half years of labor in Japan, and on the eve of his departure to China.

Such a life of devotion and sacrifice seems to have irritated the Calvinists, whose hatred of the ancient Church extended even to these heroic men. Was it a challenge that the Protestants of the sixteenth century could not meet? With unreasoning bigotry the Jesuits were assailed, and even tortured and put to death, not only by unconverted savages, but by those who claimed a purer religion and a more unsullied faith! As early as 1549, while Xavier was laboring in Ceylon, Jesuit missionaries had

gone to Brazil to work among the native Indians. In the first year of Pius V's pontificate Francis Borgia, third general of the Order of the Jesuits, sent to South America a Portuguese fellow Jesuit, Ignatius Azevedo, to take to his far-distant brothers of the Order the constitutions and laws of the Jesuits, which as yet were unknown in the western hemisphere. His report to Borgia was, on the whole, encouraging. The mission was flourishing, but the laborers were too few, and their scattered posts were dangerous to the missioners themselves. They received little help from the Portuguese immigrants who were too absorbed in commercial gain to assist in a purely religious enterprise. Young men should be sent from Europe to Brazil, Azevedo urged, who must study the Indian tongue and the work required for efficient missionary endeavor. Azevedo also requested that brothers be sent as artisans, carpenters, and even sculptors. He was not disappointed in obtaining the cooperation he asked for from Rome. Returning to Rome in 1569, he immediately went to report to the Holy Father. Pius V was delighted with the results in Brazil; and more than that, in the bright outlook for future missions in South America. He sent briefs to Portuguese bishops to ask their cooperation in the missions established within the New World.

So responsive was the Society of Jesus to the Pope's appeals that sixty-nine Jesuits volunteered of their own accord. Forty of these, headed by Father Azevedo, set sail on the *St. Jacques*. In this group thirty-one were Portuguese and the rest Spaniards. Their ship was captured by the Huguenot, Sourie, an apostate Catholic, who with five armed vessels had lain in wait for it. The *St. Jacques* was boarded and all of the Jesuits, with the exception of a brother, whom the Huguenots retained as a cook, were massacred and their bodies thrown into the sea. In place of the Reli-

gious who had been spared, a young layman on board, whom the missionaries had befriended on the voyage and who had hoped to join their Order, quickly donned a cassock that had been torn from one of the Jesuits and was slaughtered with the rest. Thus, by the grace of God, was repeated the act of heroism witnessed in the instance of the forty martyrs of Sebaste, where a stranger stepped in to replace the one Christian who had weakened and so received the fortieth crown.[1]

Of the martyred Jesuits, two were priests, twelve scholastics, sixteen brothers, and ten novices, including in this number the youth who had bravely courted martyrdom, and who in turn was beatified with the rest of that glorious company. This martyrdom of Blessed Ignatius Azevedo and Companions took place July 15, 1570, off the Canary Islands. The remaining twenty-nine volunteers had sailed later from Lisbon, on a Portuguese man of war, and escaped a like destiny.

When Sourie arrived at La Rochelle, the queen of Navarre was apparently nauseated by the affair, and caused the crew itself of the captured Portuguese ship to be set at liberty, though no provision was made for their journey home. The death of Azevedo and his company brings out how utterly opposed were the ideals of the old religion and the new doctrines of the Protestants. Consistent with the ancient faith was the Jesuit response to the call for laborers in the vineyard; but as yet, no such urge was driving their Protestant persecutors. Later, indeed, when they saw what strides Catholic missioners were making among the primitive natives everywhere, Protestant missioners took the cue and began a rival missionary effort.

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[1] *Wings of Eagles,* Francis J. Corley, S.J., and Robert J. Willmes, S.J., pp. 28–32, Bruce, 1941.

But in Brazil much had been accomplished already. At the expense of the king of Portugal, a great Jesuit college had been built at Rio de Janeiro in 1567. King Sebastian and King Philip fostered and promoted these efforts of the sons of St. Ignatius in the New World. Shortly after Pius V's election to the papacy, he sent to his nuncio Castagna at Madrid careful instructions concerning the treatment of the Indians, and reminded the king that it was on condition that the Christian faith be implanted in America, that the Spanish kings were granted by the Pope the right to conquer the land. In his briefs Pius pointed out that preachers and priests must be provided; and that they must be commanded not to confer baptism until the natives were properly instructed in the rudiments of the Catholic faith. Centers of instruction were to be provided for the native Indians. Especially did this wise and benign pontiff insist that gentleness and kindness must be practised in the punishment of crime; and that the weakness of the converts must always be taken into consideration. Moreover, Pius V demanded that feasting where wine was drunk must be done away with, for he knew the results of intoxication upon these weak natives. "The Indians are not slaves," Pius V insisted, and they must not be treated as such. Spaniards and Portuguese must set a good example to their charges. Judges and other officials must be supervised to see that they do not overstep their just province. Florida was cited by Pius as an example for the other colonies in the Americas to emulate.

Pius wrote to Cardinal Henry of Portugal to persuade King Sebastian to protect the neophytes in the New World from the cruel tyranny of the soldiers, for the honor of the kingdom was at stake in these grave matters; and only by such just treatment would the consolidation of the

Portuguese possessions be effected. "Render the yoke of Christ light," Pius exhorted Philip II and his ministers. In letters dated October ninth, 1567, to Cardinal Henry, to the Council of the Indies a few days later, to the Portuguese viceroy on Christmas Day, to the viceroy of Mexico, and to Philip II on August seventeenth, 1568; in three briefs to Cardinal Espinosa; in further letters to the viceroy of Peru, Francisco di Toledo, and finally to the Spanish Council of the Indies on the eighteenth of August, 1568; Pope Pius V made clear the enormous importance attached by him to the missions and his profound sense of personal responsibility for the protection and civilizing of the savage tribes.

In viewing all these efforts of the pontiff and of his successors in the missionary fields, the glib, uninformed criticism of superficial tourists in Mexico and in South America, who come home to write books in which they deplore remnants of primitive practices in remote areas, one is saddened by the misinformation their journalistic egotism is creating on the home front. Could they but faintly imagine what these peoples might have been had not Catholic missionaries essayed such a colossal task! But instead of being humbled on beholding the gems of architectural beauty these men erected — the mighty cathedrals, the universities and seminaries rivaling those of Europe, where great scholars taught long before John Harvard established at Cambridge the college bearing his name — they spread false impressions[2] to the detriment of any

[2] The suspicion aroused by Protestant missionaries who go to convert the Catholics of South America has been recently deplored by two Protestant writers, John W. White and John Erskine, both of whom are thoroughly familiar with the country and who bear witness to the popular resentment felt by the natives at what they call the "insolence and affrontery" of Protestant missionaries who seek, often by bribery, to "convert" Catholic Christians!

"good neighbor policy" we are anxious to create to the south of us. Without vision and a clear understanding of our southern neighbors' traditions and magnificent achievements, our efforts will be in vain and our overtures will be met with suspicion.

Amazing, indeed, are the results accomplished by Pius V, in spite of the terrible handicaps placed upon the papacy and the Church by the necessity of having constantly to appeal to the rulers for support in their missionary endeavors! Always the consent of the king must be had in these vital religious matters. And the king had the right of nomination for the bishoprics – a most dangerous right. If the bishops did not cooperate with the king's nominations, another bishop, more subservient, would be called upon to acquiesce to the king's desires. These restrictions upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church prevailed in Mexico and in the Indies, hampering the missionary work of the Jesuits. Yet how much they did achieve! True, the religious provincials were nominated by the general of the Order, but these nominations in turn had to have the approval of the commissary-general of the Council of the Indies. Worst of all, the papal briefs and the letters of instruction from the general of the Order had to pass through the hands of the council! These and many more restrictions harassed the tireless Jesuits in the field, causing many delays and often completely frustrating their best efforts.

Yet, on the whole, the Spanish king, Philip II, and the Portuguese monarch, Sebastian, did grant as concessions what should have been the Holy See's prerogative by right of canon law. They made lavish endowments to Catholic churches in the New World. They paid the expenses of the bishops and the missionaries. They even looked after the furnishings of the churches! The mischief began under

Alexander VI, who had granted the Spanish king the right of collecting tithes in the Indies on just this condition of equipping the churches with all needful things for public worship. But often the kings did not avail themselves of these unwise privileges. For the sake of peace and simplicity, they handed over their "rights" to the bishops. In Mexico the number of churches and monasteries and hospitals and schools could hardly be counted. Pius V frankly made a bargain with King Sebastian whereby the Dominicans and the Jesuits, on condition of sending missionaries each year to the Indies, were permitted to take over monasteries fallen into a state of neglectful decay.

While Pius was instructing Castagna to use his influence with the king to promote the missions in South America, Philip sent his viceroy, Francisco Toledo, to Peru and he especially ordered him to supervise the spiritual interests of the Indian population. The defense of the natives was undertaken by the Dominican Gil González, whose heart was touched and his sense of justice and Christian charity was outraged by what he himself had witnessed of the mistreatment of the native Peruvians. The monk Rodrigo de Loaisa also raised his voice in indignant protest against the sufferings of the peons. In making their protests, these men well knew that the pitiable condition of the natives was even worse under their own Indian caciques.[3] But Christian ethics demanded something else, and it was on this ground that the monks protested.

While many abuses could not be remedied at once, for Rome was not built in a day; yet the Spanish government did strive mightily to better the condition of the natives in the latter half of the sixteenth century, especially after Pius V came to the throne. Toledo demanded that no

[3] A prince or native chief among the Indians of New Spain.

priest should be appointed until he was thoroughly familiar with the native language of the Indians. And they could not receive any commission to teach or preach until they should demonstrate, before a board which he set up in the University of Lima, their fitness for their post before an examining committee. He followed the advice of Pius V in settling the Indians in communities from widely scattered districts, into groups of four hundred, and placing over each such group a competent priest. Each of these settlements was provided with hospitals and public buildings, and the Indians were given seats in their councils. Two colleges were established in Lima and in Cuzco. It was Toledo's proud boast that, owing to his efforts, any Indian could demand without fear, justice of his Spanish overlord or his own native caciques. He delighted to boast that the Indians had been reimbursed by over a million and a half of goods which had been stolen from them; that he had endowed six important hospitals in strategic centers, and that the natives were now protected from pillaging of their lands.

The Franciscans, under their founder of the mission of Quinto, Josse Ricke,[4] had done splendid work; but there was the constant danger that their settlements might be taken away from them. Because of many complicated problems of administration, the brethren themselves were considering handing over their charges to the secular priests.

The stories of Prescott and Merriman, with which Protestants are familiar, of the cruelty inflicted by the conquistadors upon the native populations in South America are well known. There is much truth in them, but the interpretation of the facts is by no means un-

[4] Ricke died in 1570, beloved and esteemed by the Order of Franciscans.

prejudiced; and their sources are limited and unreliable; as Thomas Walsh, in his notable *Philip II,* has clearly shown. Like the work of Macaulay, their writings make dramatic reading. But Walsh, like Lingard in England, has performed a scientific analysis which laid upon such like authors the hard duty of being satisfied only with original sources and contemporary evidence in the light of all the available facts. No one can or should seek to condone or to minimize the harsh treatment by the Spanish conquerors which was meted out long before Pius V ascended the throne. But it is unjust to claim that these cruelties were characteristic of the Spanish government, or were condoned by those who administered the colonies. From the beginning, during the reign of "Isabella, the Last of the Crusaders," the attitude of the Spanish government toward their charges in the colonies was vastly different from the treatment of the Indians in North America, and compares more than favorably with our attitude toward our native Americans. Under the English overlords, the Indians were left in their savagery, and they were driven farther and farther into remote areas; or annihilated entirely.

From the beginning, Catholic Spain, due in large part to the Latin tradition and lack of race prejudice, but more especially to the untiring admonitions of the popes, treated the natives as men with souls; and the integrity of the individual personality, which has always characterized Catholic teaching, was insisted upon. So solicitous was the Spanish government about the welfare of their subject Indians, that the Creoles complained of partiality in their favor! And these subject peoples, under the Spanish administration, had the religious orders as strong advocates to defend them. Thus a genuine spirit of cooperation existed between Spain and her native colonial

population. Daenell[5] declares that "the colonial administration of Spain . . . displays in every sense an extraordinary degree of prudence and care. . . . The special legislation for the Indians [has] never been equalled by any other nation which possesses colonies. Everywhere we find deep moral motives, which have given rise to laws." And again, from the same source, "The singular fact of the rapid expansion and the secure government shown in the case of the Spanish colonial empire, proves in a high degree the capacity of the Spanish race, and the sagacity and humanity of the Spanish rule."

Constantly the popes reminded the Spanish rulers of their grave responsibility in regard to their conquered peoples. When we remember the enormous difficulties of lifting undeveloped people, living in the primitive conditions that prevailed in the stone age, to a condition of civilization equivalent with our own, we can comprehend the papal task. Although Pius V was not satisfied with results in Peru, yet in Mexico the reports were consoling; for already native priests were preaching the Gospel to a congregation which embraced five thousand souls. Constantly Pius urges the priests not to baptize before full instruction is given, for he wanted no temporary converts, nor fallen-away native Catholics.

In our own Florida, the zealous governor, Menéndez de Avilés, who had consecrated himself to the interests of the native Indians, appealed to Francis Borgia for missionaries. This was to result in an extensive Jesuit missionary effort, and in the slaughter of a number of these devoted priests by inimicable natives. Like the work of the Franciscans and Dominicans, it forms an epoch in the early history of Florida.[6]

[5] Quoted by Pastor.

[6] *The Romance of the Floridas*, by Michael Kenny, S.J., is the story of this remarkable heroic venture. (Bruce, 1934.)

Here, in spite of the handicap not seldom due to the bad reputation of Spanish conquistadors, the great Dominican saint, Louis Bertrand, achieved mighty results from his sacrificial labors. It was the shining purity of his life, his austerity, and his indefatigable zeal that awoke in the simple minds of these savages the highest esteem and devotion. Alone, barefoot, armed only with the Sword of the Spirit, the Gospels and his breviary, trudging on through tangled jungles, through insect- and snake-infested everglades, and crocodile swamps, under the torrid sun, without food for days on end, this man of God brought into the Church twenty thousand Indians, "all well instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity."[7] Of the self-effacing labors of this saint, so characteristic of the sons of St. Dominic, no record whatsoever has been left. Not one letter of his is extant! He labored for the Lord and not for the plaudits of men.

There was an Abyssinian mission in northern Africa which Pius V tried to protect from the Turkish hordes who were ravaging the shores of the country,[8] and to that end he wrote to the Portuguese king and to Cardinal Henry. Meanwhile Pius received most encouraging news of missionary endeavor in the East Indies, where, under the protection of King Sebastian, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits were preaching to the natives. All the natives about Goa had become Christian as a result of their joint labors. With this field Pius V kept in close touch and there are letters testifying to his zealous care

[7] Pastor.

[8] A Protestant historian has said: "None of the expeditions sent against the Barbary states by the Powers of Europe, or even America, equalled the moral effect produced by the ministry of consolation, peace and abnegation going even to the sacrifice of liberty and life, which was exercised by the humble sons of St. John of Malta, St. Peter Nolasco, and St. Vincent de Paul." Bonet-Maury in his work, *France, christianisme et civilisation,* p. 142.

in Goa. The beginnings of missionary endeavor in Japan under Pius V was carried forward successfully by his successors.

Missionary labor had decreased under the Renaissance pontiffs; and indeed, it had not received much encouragement under Pius IV; until, under Pius V, afire with the primitive spirit of Christian enterprise which had characterized St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, it assumed its rightful role in Catholic action. Pius V tried to bring about more independence of the missions by uniting them in closer ties with the Holy See, and to release them from the dangerous influence of secular princes. To this end the Holy Father instituted two congregations of cardinals to promote the propagation of the faith. One of these congregations was to have for its field of labor the countries of the heretics; the other was for the overseas missions. This creation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith – for such it was! – was the first inkling of the mighty organization under which all the missionary labors of the Catholic Church function, and which in our own day received such a tremendous impetus under the late pontiff, Pius XI. The congregation for the conversion of the heretics was suggested to Pius V by the third general of the Jesuits, Francis Borgia.

The insistence of Pius V upon laying a solid foundation of faith before baptism cannot be overemphasized. Over and over Pius insists in urgent words upon the end to be sought; namely, the conversion of pagans and sinners to the living truths of the Gospel. In this respect Francis Borgia was a man after his own heart. The first object of missionary endeavor was the salvation of souls. The first responsibility of the Jesuits under Borgia's care was to plant the seeds of the faith so carefully that there should be no defections. It was to the recently baptized that he

urged his followers to turn their eyes, before seeking to baptize new converts. This exhortation to fortify those new in the Faith Borgia backs up with the assertion that "this is the will of the Pope." *Consolidate, consolidate!* This is the fundamental and final word of Francis Borgia and of Pius V!

11

PIUS V AS CRUSADER AGAINST THE INFIDELS

WHEN Charles Martel overthrew the Saracens at Poitiers in 732 in the great battle in which Abd-er-Rahman fell, Christendom was relieved of a great fear of the advancing Ottoman hordes; and France was saved for the religion of Christ. But south of the Pyrenees, in the land of Spain, the Moors retained a hold, until in 1002 all the Moorish conquests were lost at Catalañzor, and Castile arose into a new kingdom. From this conquest by the Christian forces date the constitutional liberties of Spain. With the capture of Toledo in 1085 by Alfonso VI, Christianity became once again the dominant power in Spain; and the Moors were driven further to the south of the peninsula. Under Ferdinand, grandson of Alfonso IX, the crowns of Leon and Castile were united. There followed almost four centuries of wars between the Christians and the Moors in Spain. Then, with the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon, the two kingdoms were united under the "Catholic kings"; and Spain arose to a position of sovereignty to be reckoned with in Catholic Europe, which thus received a mighty ally. Under their joint "kingship" the Moors lost Alhama in 1482, Ronda in 1485, Malaga in 1487, and Baza in 1488. Led by an army of 100,000 men, the siege of Granada was begun in

1491; and the city was surrendered on January the second of 1492. This final conquest over the Moors coincided with Spain's discovery of America under Columbus; and the empire arose with vast possessions in the New World, especially in South America, Florida, California, and Mexico.

So mighty was this empire that, under Philip II, it embraced not only the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, the Netherlands, and (in 1580) Portugal; but all of North and South America not held by the English and the French, besides the Philippines and possessions in Africa as well.

During all these centuries while Spain waxed strong, the Ottoman power did not cease to try to recapture portions of Europe, by gaining a foothold from which they could once again drive out and annihilate the despised Christians. More than once they had almost succeeded; as when, under Suleyman II, known as the Magnificent,[1] Belgrade fell to them in 1521, and Rhodes the next year. Hungary was broken in twain by Suleyman's victory in 1526; Vienna was besieged, and the heart of Hungary became a Turkish province.

Innumerable Christian slaves had been captured and labored in the Turkish galleys. Thousands of Christians had been tortured and slain. The Island of Malta, whose church was founded by St. Paul and Publius (who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles and was the first bishop) is the only extant Apostolic See, except Rome. This island was, in the sixteenth century, one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom against the Turks. A few months before Pius V ascended the throne, the island was successfully defended by the grand master of the Knights of St. John,

[1] He reigned from 1520–1566.

La Valette,[2] against a formidable Turkish invasion force of forty thousand men which outnumbered the entire population of the island. Yet the brave defenders of the tiny isle withstood a siege for four months; and the Turkish enemy gave up the invasion and withdrew. This resistance was almost as vital to the defense of Europe against the Mohammedans as was the decisive battle of Lepanto six years later. Under Spanish rule, which lasted two centuries and a half, Malta made great progress in civilization. This was due largely to the influence of the religious orders, especially the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians.

The ardor with which Pius V was fired to promote the League against the Turks, and his ceaseless efforts to gain the cooperation of the several states of Europe was not always successful, as we have seen. Too often, as in the case of France and Poland, the rulers were indifferent, or preoccupied with other wars nearer home, or they were indolent and even hostile, and willing to play the Ottoman power against their European foes — as had Francis I — and jeopardize Christian Europe for more immediate advantage. Besides Pius V's untiring vigilance, Spain under Philip II was ever watchful of her traditional enemy. Always in the back of Philip's mind was the crusade against the Ottoman power which it was his role to undertake. Disappointed in his own son, Don Carlos, Philip watched over his half brother, Don Juan, the bastard son of Charles V, whom he was grooming for the military career so in keeping with the glory after which his hot blood hankered. The boy was only twenty years of age when Philip made him General of the Sea with

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[2] For him the town Valetta is named, which has suffered more bombings than any other city in this Total War of 1939–?.

Don Luis de Requesens, recently recalled from Rome, as his lieutenant.

Philip's long letter, granting the coveted honor to Don Juan, is a model of fatherly advice and of Christian solicitude; and reveals, perhaps, more than any other writing of his, the Spanish king's keen sense of responsibility and concern for the youth and the role he was to play in Christian history.

> First, because the foundation and beginning of all things and all good counsel is in God, I charge you to take this beginning and foundation like a good and true Christian, in all that you undertake and do. . . . Truth in speaking and fulfilment of promises are the foundation of credit and esteem among men . . . upon which common intercourse and confidence are based. This is even more necessary in men of high rank and those who fill great public positions; for on their truth and good faith depend the public faith and security. . . . Full reliance ought to be placed upon whatever you say. . . . Do not listen to flattery. . . . Walk with circumspection as regards your own purity; for . . . not only is its violation an offense against God, but it . . . causes many troubles and greatly interferes with business and the fulfilment of duty. . . . Avoid cards, swearing and gluttony. Let your table be a model of decorum, moderation, decency and neatness. . . . Avoid heat of temper and loud words. . . . Eschew needless expense, pomp and excess in clothing and in living generally. . . . These are matters of which it has occurred to me to remind you, trusting you will act better than I have written.[3]

Although Philip II disappointed the pontiff more than once in not heeding his warnings to go to the Netherlands and assume control there, in giving aid and comfort to Elizabeth of England, and in opposing Pius' Bull of Excommunication against the queen, and in jealously clinging to his hereditary "rights"; yet in regard to the crusade

[3] Cabrera, Vol. I, p. 567; Sterling-Maxwell translation, Vol. I, pp. 82–84.

against the Turks, he became, after two years of hesitation, the Pope's mainstay and right arm. It was Pius V's ardent desire to unite all Europe against the Mohammedan menace which had been threatening the extinction of the Christian religion and all that Catholic Europe throughout the centuries had so laboriously built. At the very beginning of his accession to the throne of Peter, Pius wrote to Philip, outlining his aims and purposes. These, as conceived by him, were meant to create a formidable League against the Turks which should comprise a united Christian Europe. Thwarted as he was at the very outset by the defections which Luther and Calvin had caused in Christian unity, Pius leaned more than ever upon those rulers upon whom he could count, and upon none so heavily as upon Philip II, king of Spain.

Philip's concern with the Netherlands, however, and his fears of the German subjects of his cousin, Maximilian II, where religious disputes interfered with the Pope's project of the League, caused him to hesitate for two years before he openly joined with the pontiff against the Turks. Commendone had clearly seen at the Diet of Augsburg that Maximilian was chiefly interested in the protection of Hungary, rather than a crusade against the infidels to save Europe. And, for the protection of Hungary, Pius added 50,000 scudi to the sum the Diet had voted, while sending to the emperor military aid from Italy as well.

Thus two precious years were allowed to pass before events themselves forced both Spain and Venice to join the League against the Turks. Meanwhile the indefatigable pontiff did what he could singlehanded to hold the Turks at bay. He continued to contribute to the Knights of Malta, to support the emperor as long as the war lasted in Hungary; and he protected the coasts of

the papal states against Turkish marauders. To this end, in June of 1567, Pius bought three galleys of Andrea Doria. Watchtowers were constructed along the coasts of Italy to give the alarm to the inhabitants of Cività Vecchia and of Ancona in case of approaching Turkish vessels. Many of these watchtowers still rear their heads and form a picturesque reminder of the labors of Pius V to protect Italy from the depredations of the Turks. The tower of San Michele at Ostia, designed by Michelangelo, bears the inscription of Pius V. The warrior-pontiff himself inspected these fortifications, as well as those he built in Rome where it was feared the Turks might succeed in penetrating.

After the heroic defense of Malta by La Valette, Pius decided that the island must be strongly fortified as a bastion against the invasion of Italy — especially of Sicily and Naples — from which Europe could be overrun. For this end Pius urged Philip and Margaret of Parma, governess of the Low Countries, to assist in rebuilding the fortifications of Malta and to aid the knights under La Valette with troops and money. In his Bull, *Cum gravissima,*[4] the pontiff describes the grave danger which, in view of the religious dissensions in Europe, is seriously threatening Christendom; and he exhorts the Faithful to prayer and penance, that God's wrath may be appeased by their vicarious atonement for heresy, and that the papal right arm may be upheld by the strong arm of God. He published a jubilee indulgence, during which he begged for the prayers and fasting of the Faithful, their reception of the sacraments, and the giving of alms for a crusade against the Turks.

La Valette, knowing well he could not repair the wreck-

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[4] Dated March 9, 1566.

age done by the sultan and his Janissaries,[5] had decided to abandon the defense of Malta and repair to Sicily. But Pius V would not hear of such a thing! Malta must be the first line of defense. In a letter dated March the twenty-second, 1566, he ordered the heroic garrison not to leave their post. He sent the knights 57,000 golden crowns and promised them 4000 more each month to rebuild the ruined city. *Hic Domus, hic requies mea!* the Knights of St. John cried, as they kissed the papal brief. Six days later the first cornerstone of the city was laid which bears the name of its heroic defender.[6]

Suleyman, seeing himself outwitted, appeared next before Chios, one of the islands of the Greek archipelago and a lively trading center. His fleet consisted of one hundred thirty galleys with 130,000 men aboard. Giustiniani, the governor of the island, and his council were invited to a banquet on the sultan's ship. They dared not refuse the invitation, although they knew from past experience with Mohammedan "honor," what the invitation portended. It was Eastertide, and all the men had made their duties; nevertheless, knowing their fate beforehand, they made a last confession in anticipation of certain death. No sooner had they seated themselves on the sultan's ship, than they were all brutally murdered. Giustiniani cried out in a loud voice: "O Lord, accept our lives, but spare this Christian nation!" But with their accustomed methodical instinct of total annihilation, the city was sacked, and

[5] The regular standing army of the Sultan, made up of Christian prisoners who had been forced to embrace Mohammedanism. There were 30,000 of them!

[6] Valetta's beautiful public buildings were constructed with the money Pius V contributed. The population of Malta is largely Italian and the Italian language is spoken by the inhabitants. The garrison is now in the hands of the British, who took the Island from Napoleon in 1800, who had seized it the preceding year from the Spanish, who had held it for two hundred and eighty years — since the time of Charles V.

all its inhabitants were murdered in cold blood. The Cathedral of San Pietro was totally destroyed; and the church of San Domenico was turned into a mosque. Two children of the Giustiniani family, of ten and twelve years of age, together with twenty-one other members of the Giustiniani, were martyrs. The massacres lasted for three days; and the Island of Chios was left a pile of Christian corpses and smoking ruins.[7]

Suleyman, intoxicated with victory and the lust of battle, sent ninety thousand men into Hungary where the siege of Szigeth was laid. Pius V was distraught when news of these terrible happenings reached Rome. He ordered the Forty Hours' devotion and public prayers. He himself took part in three great processions. It is recorded that Suleyman, when advised of what the Pope was doing, declared: "I fear the prayers of the Pope much more than I do the arms of his soldiers!" On the day of the third procession the sultan suddenly died! But Szigeth fell three days later after resisting to the last. Then the Janissaries left to offer their obeisance to the new sultan, Selim II.

Selim the Sot, as he is known because of his red nose and his unquenchable thirst for rare wines, had one other ambition: the destruction of Christianity through the conquest of Italy. At long last, Venice, which had consistently resisted the Pope's overtures to join the League (and was nervously avoiding any conflict with the Turks because of her profitable commerce with them, having hastily withdrawn her fleet before Ragusa on the Dalmatian coast

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[7] The duchies of Naxos, Ceos, and Andros also fell to the Turks. Ancona was threatened in May of 1566; and Pius dispatched troops and artillery to defend the papal city. In the short space of twenty days, he had sent a force of four thousand men to defend the entire Italian coast on the Adriatic.

when the Turkish fleet put in an appearance), was finally aroused to action by the threat to Cyprus, the most precious possession of the Venetian republic.

Long before he became the reigning sultan, Selim II had been thoroughly demoralized by one of his favorites, José Miquez, who had come from Portugal and, through his financial speculations, had become very wealthy. He wielded great influence over the debauched Selim by encouraging his caprices, and seeing that his wine stock was always replenished. As sultan, the fat, coarse, repulsive, undersized Selim conferred upon his favorite the duchy of Naxos whose wines were to supply Selim's table. But this renegade Jew, whose avarice was whetted by the sultan's token of favor, sought greater power. He eyed Cyprus with envy, and urged the sultan to undertake its conquest. After the conclusion of peace with Emperor Maximilian,[8] and the sultan's conquest of Arabia, Miquez seized his chance. Only Sokolli, the grand vizier, stood in the way of the latter's ambitious designs. But the vizier preferred to cooperate with his fellow Moors of Spain, rather than with this renegade Jew. Yet Miquez, or Joseph Nassi,[9] had the support of Admiral Piali-Pasha and Selim's tutor, Lala Mustaphà. These three allies urged Selim to attack Cyprus, "whose possession was his as heir of the rulers of Egypt," and suggested that the money acquired by this choice morsel could be used to complete the building of the great mosque which was under construction at Adrianople. Venice was, moreover, guilty of harboring the Maltese refugees in the Cyprus ports.

The propitious moment had arrived for such an undertaking as Nassi proposed by the bad harvest in Italy, and by the blowing up of the arsenal at Venice on September

[8] See p. 74.
[9] The old Hebrew title of "Nassi" means "leader" or "prophet."

the thirteenth of 1569, which caused so great an explosion that it was felt at Padua and Treviso. The people of these towns thought an earthquake had struck them. The Grand Canal rose to a height of several feet, causing the palaces to be inundated, and the fall of several of them. This disaster was the work of another renegade Jew, Miguel, who had been exiled to Venice and sheltered at Chioggia.

The time for action by Nassi was more than opportune. Selim arrogantly demanded the immediate cession of Cyprus to the Turks! A treaty existed between the Turks and the Venetians, who at once protested a breach of faith; and the flag of San Marco floated over the Basilica. The Venetians, who had been so derelict about joining the League, as Pius V had urged, awoke now to the menace at their gates! Family treasures of costly plate and precious jewels poured into the Signoria; taxes were promptly paid; and the patricians worked like beavers on a new arsenal while the ladies of Venice left their palaces to bring them food and drink. A frantic appeal was sent to the Pope. Pius, of course, did not fail Venice; for in spite of the recalcitrance of the city in postponing and seeking to evade the issue of the League, of her jealousy of Spanish influence in Italy under Pius V, and of her arbitrary treatment of ecclesiastical policies, the great-minded pontiff would not allow any of these considerations to influence the larger motive of preserving Christendom from Islam. His concern of mighty issues could not be sidetracked by petty politics. While his nuncio, Antonio Facchinetti, was pressing the Venetian Signoria to join the League and to form an alliance with Spain, the governors of Venice sought up to the very last[10] to get money, troops and provisions from the pontiff, without actually committing

[10] February 25, 1570.

themselves to the League which would involve them in an alliance with Spain for the mutual protection of Europe.

Because of her critical situation, however, Pius could insist upon the republic's uniting with Spain and the Italian states against the Turks. The nuncio, Facchinetti, reported as late as March the eighth, 1570, that although, in view of their immediate peril, the Signoria was willing to join the league on the Pope's terms, he was afraid that, should the Turks listen to an eleventh-hour agreement for arbitration, the Venetians might withdraw, unless bound so tightly that they could not do so without the deepest humiliation. Indeed, such overtures had already begun! On March the twenty-seventh the Turkish ambassador arrived in the harbor before Venice and was accompanied to the palace of the Signoria. In a secret session behind closed doors, the governors of Venice issued their ultimatum which was a rejection of the Turkish terms, delivered "in cold and dignified accents." The Signoria pointed out that the Turks had broken a peace which had been ratified by oath. The Serene Republic would defend herself and come to the defense of Cyprus with all her armed might.

Pius V had spoken in Consistory of the Turkish danger and in bold and burning words had called upon Venice to join the League. But the Spanish ambassadors, Zuñiga and Granvelle, held back from committing Spain to any such course; while the cardinals declared that without Spain's strong intervention, the Venetian undertaking would be disastrous and sure to fail – an outcome which Granvelle seems to have regarded as a fitting visitation from on high. "God," said he, "is exposing that proud state to the attack of the infidels to chasten its insolence and selfishness."

It was Cardinal Commendone who came to the Pope's support. He opposed Granvelle's argument with vigor, reviewing the history of the Venetian Republic and citing her services to Christendom and the papacy. With all his eloquence he defended Venice against the charges of faithlessness. He marveled, he said, that the Spanish ambassadors should refer to the late war, and the peace concluded with the Turks, since the treatment of the Venetians by her allies was anything but honorable. From the very beginning the pontiff had promised Venice help, not because of Venice alone, but because the entire Italian peninsula was involved. The faith of Christendom was at stake and it was ungracious and petty to bring up jealous recriminations at such a time. Most of the cardinals agreed with Commendone.

The Pope, meanwhile, made provision for a tax to be paid by the Venetian clergy, which was to be a tenth of a large subsidy he promised for the defense of Cyprus. This accomplished, Pius strove with all his might to beg Philip II to come to the aid of Venice and form an alliance with the republic. He entrusted the difficult negotiations to Luis de Torres who, because of his Spanish descent, would be under no suspicion in Spain.

In the papal brief which De Torres presented to Philip, Pius gave a vivid picture of the frightful danger Christendom would be subjected to if the monarchs, through selfish considerations, withheld their support of the League. No monarch could, singlehanded, withstand the Turks; but if they united solidly behind the pontiff, they could save Europe for Christ. The success of such wholehearted support Pius said would belong to Spain under the leadership of Philip because of his unquestioned Catholicism and the resources of his mighty empire. As for himself, Pius was ready to make any sacrifice and

strip himself and his dominions for the preservation of the Faith.

The desperate papal appeal addressed to Philip, the Catholic king, had its effect. He finally sent a small fleet to the aid of the Serene Republic, which joined the fleet the Pope had presented, and the Venetian ships under Admiral Dandolo. On Sunday, the fourteenth of June, 1570, after pontificating at High Mass in St. Peter's, Pius V blessed the papal standard of crimson silk on which the crucifix was emblazoned between the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and over which was wrought the ancient motto of Constantine, *In hoc signo vinces*. Marcantonio Colonna, the papal generalissimo, took the oath in the papal chapel.

In retrospect it seems incredible that the security of Christendom should have been jeopardized by the shortsighted policies of jealous monarchs. None of the rulers seems to have had the vision that the Holy Father possessed. For Pius V clearly saw that not only Christendom, but civilization itself was at bay so long as the unspeakable Turk, whose cruelties were a byword, was not only tolerated but even embraced as an ally by so-called Christian powers. It was this divided allegiance that foredoomed the campaign against the Turks to failure.

The capital of Cyprus, Nicosia, was besieged by the mighty Turkish force and was reduced to ruin! Although its defense was almost impregnable, the Venetian admiral, Dandolo, refused to take the offensive, and ordered the fleet to Famagusta which was being defended by Bragadino and a handful of noble Venetians. The Maltese troops were furious at Dandolo's tactics which were an utter failure and ended with the admiral's death. His timidity and pride cost him his life. On the eighth of September the Turkish commander forced the city's sur-

render. Nicosia was, as usual, sacked; and twenty thousand survivors, including its Archbishop, Amalthi, were massacred. The Turks made a hugh funeral pyre of the corpses and, tying the wounded to stakes, built a vast bonfire and danced about the holocaust, crying to the writhing victims to summon their Christ to save them. The orgies lasted for eight days, until, exhausted, the weary Turks desisted. Over a thousand women and girls were sold as slaves to the highest bidder, and four Turkish ships were laden with the loot of the beautiful city.

At Famagusta the same frightful fate awaited the inhabitants, who had withstood a siege for many months: from the sixteenth of September, 1570, to the last day of June of 1571, when a skirmish took place in which three thousand of the Janissaries were killed; and Mustaphà, infuriated, swore vengeance upon the city. A Dominican friar escaped to Venice and demanded help in the name of the suffering Venetians and Famagustans. He was met with sneering scorn by the Signoria. "What else do you want?" he was asked, and the fearless Dominican answered: "Ten thousand measures of fresh blood to stanch the wounds which are still flowing!" They ordered the Dominican back to his monastery for his health! But no sooner had he departed than a Corsican woman with a crowd of ladies invaded the council chamber and shamed the Signoria by declaring that if Venice did not respond to the appeals of Famagusta, Corsica, her native country, would! Too late a reinforcement was sent to the besieged city.

For ten long months the city had withstood the Turkish forces, and with only seven thousand soldiers! At last, tired of the prolonged contest, Mustaphà offered honorable terms if the starving population would capitulate. Because there was no alternative, and no help from Venice

was in sight, its commander, Bragadino, accepted on the third of August, 1571. Three days later Mustaphà broke his treaty and Bragadino was tortured in the most satanic manner, while the other Venetian officers were executed. After eight days of torture, Bragadino was flayed alive while Mustaphà stood by, crying: "Where is now your God?" *Cor mundum crea in me, Deus!* the dying man answered until his breath ceased. In the Church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, his skin, stuffed with straw, was reverently buried, after it had been paraded through the city streets of Famagusta and then sent to Selim as a trophy to terrorize the many thousands of Christian slaves in Constantinople.

All these terrors and more, too gruesome to be described, had to be endured by the martyred defenders before Europe awoke to the real threat at her gates. Only one man had seen from the very beginning what persecutions Europe would have to suffer unless the power of the Turks was broken by a united front against the infidels. That man was Pius V whose heart was wrung by the reports pouring in to Rome of the tales, too hideous for human credence, of the sadistic tortures inflicted upon the conquered Christians. His failure was due, as he very well knew, to the tragedy of a disunited Europe, which Luther and Calvin had split in twain, and which was losing its moorings in defying the authority of the Vicar of Christ.

Now, more than ever, after the ignominious defeat of Venice and Spain and the papal states by the Turkish hordes, Pius V knew no peace. To every court in Europe, except England whose apostasy was so well known that the grand vizier himself declared that all the English needed to become true Moslems was to raise one finger aloft and cry: "There is One God!," Pius V sent his legates

who were preaching a crusade against the Turks and their admission to the league.

The Pope was old and very weary. The older he grew the more his burdens bent his back. He was, in reality, dying under the weight he carried; but he still fought on, holding on high the banner of the Crucified, and never relinquishing the sword of his patron, Saint Michael! Sick, and in constant pain from the ailment that never left him, he knew no respite, no peace! But he only begged his God the harder not to forsake him in his extremity. *Domine, defende causam tuam!* was the cry that never left his heart and lips.

Cyprus had been abandoned to its fate in the spring of 1571. The sole cause of the complete failure of the first expedition against the Turks by the united forces of Venice, Spain, and the Holy See was due to lack of preparation, but more especially to the jealousy between Venice and Spain and the lack of cooperation of their admirals. Spain's fleet of forty-nine galleys had been under the command of Gian Andrea Doria whose conduct was due to the rivalry between him and Marcantonio Colonna who commanded the fleet of the Pope's twelve vessels. Anxious to spare his own ships, he procrastinated and would not hear of making an attack. And the Venetians, hindered by Doria's opposition, dared not undertake the attack, fearing he would refuse them assistance. Under these circumstances Colonna, upon whom the Pope had counted so much, retired to Corfù where storms destroyed eight of the papal vessels. Colonna returned to Ancona with only four of the papal galleys. His brother, Pompeo Colonna, went on to Rome to break the sad news to Pius V. One can imagine his grief and sense of frustration!

But reverses and frustration only spurred on the de-

termined pontiff! Grasping the true state of affairs, and realizing that Doria was to blame, Pius graciously received Colonna; but refused an audience with Doria. Morone backed up the papal position of placing the guilty delay on Doria's shoulders, and said it would have been better if he had never joined the expedition, for he had hindered more than he had helped the alliance. Meanwhile the pontiff continued to urge negotiations for the League, which had not been as yet officially launched.

On November fourth the Signoria in Venice agreed to the papal terms, that by the following March they would have in readiness two hundred galleys, one hundred transports, fifty thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, besides artillery and munitions. Each autumn the campaign for the following spring was to be decided upon in the Pope's presence in Rome. After interminable discussions about provisions of grain which Spain was to supply from Naples, and the contribution of Spanish ships for the fleet, and an expedition against Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which Spain was demanding with the contribution of fifty Venetian galleys for the project, the discussions finally terminated and all was agreed upon. Pius made many sacrifices and contributed generously for the supreme contest which was to be his last crusade against the Turkish infidels.

The acceptance of Don Juan of Austria as generalissimo was unanimous. It seems to have been the sole point all agreed upon. And the Pope stipulated that entrance into the League was always to be open to the emperor and any European prince who might decide to enter, even at the eleventh hour. Indeed he was to continue to urge their espousal of the League's cause in the name of Christendom. It was further agreed that Spain should have Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli as well as her former posses-

sions in the peace terms with the Turks, in case of the triumph of the League's forces. Venice was also promised her former possessions as also Durazzo, Valona, and Castelnuovo.

Only one point now awaited approval by Venice and Spain – the commander who should succeed Don Juan in the event of his becoming incapacitated. Finally Pius persuaded the Venetians to accept the papal commander, Marcantonio Colonna, to take supreme command in such an event, but only to encounter opposition in Spain which protracted the negotiations for six full months, and caused the weary pontiff to become gloomy and distraught. So the year 1570 came to an end without a decision from Spain, while the Turks were besieging Famagusta, Corfù, and Ragusa, until the papal legate, Facchinetti, sent word to the Pope on February of 1571 that there was actual danger of the Signoria's making peace with the Turks, even at the price of Cyprus!

Finally, on March the second of 1571, Philip's reply was placed in Pius' hands. One can imagine with what emotion he read the welcome news, for now the last obstacle seemed to have been overcome. Indeed, so favorable did all things seem that Cardinal Bonelli, the Pope's nephew, wrote to the Signoria in Venice that on the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, after High Mass at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where the Pope presided in the adjoining monastery, everything had proceeded with such smoothness that there was good reason to believe that in three or four days the business would be concluded and the promulgation of the League would be solemnly announced. On the sixteenth of March the cardinal ordered the papal nuncio at the Spanish king's court at Madrid to ask Philip to have the galleys in readiness and the troops standing by, as the Pope believed that the League was as good as

achieved and as he felt sure of the consent of Venice which he awaited.

In two days the Venetian reply arrived at Rome, and no one in the pontiff's presence needed to ask its contents, for the outraged expression on His Holiness' face told only too plainly what was in it. In fact, Facchinetti reported that because of disagreements about the relative contributions of Spain and Venice in the undertaking, he seriously feared the republic would make terms with the Turks! Facchinetti advised the Pope to make greater concessions to win over the Venetians before it was too late.

The fact of the matter was that there were two factions in Venice. One wanted an agreement with the Turks to save their commerce; the other demanded the conclusion of the League but without submitting to the Spanish conditions, especially in regard to her demands of help in northwestern Africa. The pontiff seemed to those near to him to have succumbed to great despondency; but Morone, who guided the negotiations, declared that he did not give up. He decided to send Marcantonio Colonna, who was highly esteemed in Venice, to plead with the Signoria to put aside their selfish aims and see the larger issues involved. Colonna, Facchinetti, and Paolo Tiepolo all appealed eloquently to the Signoria. At long last their counsels prevailed! Colonna returned in triumph to Rome on May the eleventh where he was received by the Pope. On the nineteenth the league was a reality! The pontiff had made many new concessions to achieve this *summum bonum* so dear to his heart. He made large financial grants to Spain, the continuance of the *sussidio* levied on the Spanish clergy for another five years, the *excusado* for the same length of time, and even the strongly contested *cruzado* for six years. His concessions to Venice were

equally generous. It was an exhorbitant price to pay, but the pontiff believed the League was worth the price.

On May twenty-fifth the articles of the treaty were read and approved by the cardinals, and sworn to by the pontiff and the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors. Two days later, on Sunday, a public announcement of the achievement was made in St. Peter's basilica. After High Mass was celebrated, a sermon was preached and from the pulpit the terms of the League were made public. A league had been formed between the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Serene Republic which was to last until its ends were achieved: victory over the Turks and the release of Christian slaves, and was to be directed not only against the sultan, but also against his vassals, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. The triple alliance was to provide two hundred galleys, one hundred transports, fifty thousand Spanish, Italian, and German (mercenaries) infantry, and four thousand five hundred cavalry, etc. Each year new forces were to be supplied by each ally in April. Spain and Venice bound themselves mutually to assist each other and come to the aid of whichever one might be attacked. In case Venice were attacked from the Adriatic, Philip II was bound to bring his fleet to her assistance; if Tripoli, Tunis, or Algiers were the points threatened, Venice would come to their aid with fifty galleys. These mutual assistance pacts were the papal triumph. The Pope was to bear one sixth of the cost of the crusade,[11] Spain three sixths, and Venice two sixths. Don Juan was to be the generalissimo, but he was to take counsel of the Venetian and papal captains. His tactics were to be determined and his policies were to be guided by a majority vote. His lieutenant was to be Marcantonio Colonna — another tri-

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[11] In the end he actually paid sixty per cent of the cost!

umph for the Pope. The League was to be open to every Christian prince and to Emperor Maximilian II at any time they expressed a wish to join. The Pope was to act as arbiter in case of differences arising. And the provisions of the neutrality and integrity of Ragusa on the Dalmation coast was guaranteed.

So overjoyed was the pontiff at the culmination of his long-coveted dream for the deliverance of Christendom from the threatened terrors of Turkish domination of Europe, that he had a medal struck to commemorate the event, and he proclaimed a jubilee to call down upon the Christian armies the blessings of God and of St. Michael, defender of Christians. He took part in three processions, the last of which was on June the first, 1571. He walked with a firmer step; on his face there was a joyous light; and over his head there shone a veritable halo of sanctity.

12

VICTORY AND DEATH

IN SPITE of the timidity of his Christian counselors, Pius V had steadfastly refused to believe that the Moslem power could not be broken. When Cardinal Granvelle had argued that the Turks must be attacked on all fronts simultaneously; that, while their forces were scattered and divided they should be challenged on the African coast, in Albania, and in Hungary, Pius had openly wept at Granvelle's lack of faith. It was due to such timidity in the Christian princes, Pius had declared, that the Church was suffering such reverses as at Cyprus. God, Pius V reiterated, is invincible. The Turk is vulnerable and has been beaten many times in past centuries. Pius V knew his history! He listed the victories of Ladislaus of Poland, and of John Hunyady and of Scanderbeg who had brought the enemy of Christendom to their knees. In two hundred and fifty years the Ottoman power had won only eighteen out of thirty-six battles, and all but one of these eighteen were won after they began using their Janissaries.[1] Pius believed with all his heart that God would defend the Christian forces if they proved themselves worthy by uniting for the greater glory of God and the preservation of Christendom. He declared

[1] These were Christian slaves!

the Turks could be beaten on the sea; and in this opinion he was almost alone; until, urged on and persuaded against their own judgment, his determination prevailed over his opponents and the League became a reality.

After March the seventh of 1570 (the Feast of St. Dominic) when Pius had signed the League treaty and had placed the Christian arms under the protection of our Lady, his hard task was never relinquished; and in spite of the recalcitrance of France and of Poland, and the blunders of Doria and of Dandolo, and the loss of two thirds of his fleet by storm, this warrior-pontiff had never abandoned his project which, as Head of Christendom, he took to be his duty to European civilization. Upheld by his faith in the goodness of God and His inscrutable wisdom, he begged Him not to desert his unworthy children in what was to prove his final crusade. And God listened to and answered his trusting prayer.

From the very start Pius had favored Don Juan as the generalissimo. When he received word that the youthful leader (he was now only twenty-four!) had weighed anchor at Barcelona on the twentieth of July and had safely reached Genoa six days later, Pius invited him to come to Rome. But the king of Spain would not allow it. So the Holy Father contented himself with sending to the young commander, who had proceeded to Naples, the papal banner and the admiral's baton which he had blessed. On August the second the church of Santa Chiara was crowded to capacity with the eager throng who had come to see this almost fabulous son of Emperor Charles V, who must have influenced the painting of Guido Reni's St. George, with the face of an angel and the muscular body, encased in shining armor, of a stalwart athlete. As he sat there at the High Altar under the multicolored lights, invincible in his coat of mail, his eyes blue as the

flashing sea, and his golden curls vying in luster with the Golden Fleece flung over his shoulder, it must have seemed to the gaping throng as if St. Michael himself had descended from on high to fight the good fight of Christ!

After the Mass, Cardinal Granvelle, viceroy of Naples and Prince of the Church, presented the papal banner of azure silk upon which was embroidered the Crucified, with the arms of the Pope, of King Philip, of Venice, and of Don Juan at His feet. At the presentation of the banner Granvelle spoke these solemn and prophetic words:

> Take, O illustrious Prince the insignia of the true Word made Flesh. Take this living symbol of the Holy Faith whose defender you are in this enterprise. He gives you glorious victory over the impious enemy, and by your hand shall his pride be laid in the dust.

And all the people reverently shouted "Amen!" and again "Amen!" as the crusaders of old had done.

While Don Juan was at Naples, the Pope, becoming cognizant of the advance of the Turkish fleet, was alarmed that the enemy might stage a surprise attack. He sent Paolo Odescalchi to Naples to speed the young commander on his way. The information which the envoy had brought was written in Pius' own hand, and in the letter he begged Don Juan not to delay, but to set sail at once and gain the advantage of the initiative. On the twenty-third of August the youthful admiral set sail and he arrived at the straits of Messina where the admirals of the Pope and of Venice, Colonna and Vernier, were anxiously awaiting him. The welcome which the populace of Messina gave Don Juan outdid, if possible, that he had received at Naples. The Sicilians were captivated by this youthful type of manly beauty, so rare in the south of Italy. At once Don Juan called the council. He apologized for causing the admirals worry, explaining

that further necessary preparations had been the cause. De Requesens, whom Philip trusted to curb any undue rashness which his youth might incite, was on hand to act as his mentor.

To his great indignation Don Juan saw at once how inadequate the Venetian fleet was, both as to the number of ships and the number of its fighting men. At the demand of the council this deficiency was made up by twelve galleys from Doria's fleet, which had left Cività Vecchia on the twenty-fourth, with sixty other Venetian ships and compliments of soldiers and sailors from the Spanish fleet. Colonna especially insisted upon this arrangement in spite of Vernier's stout objection. Four thousand of the famous Spanish and Italian infantry manned the poorly equipped Venetian ships.

When at last the armada set sail from Messina on September the sixteenth, there were in the Christian fleet two hundred and eight galleys, ninety of which had been contributed by Spain, and twelve by the Pope, while Venice had given one hundred and six. The one hundred brigantines, frigates, and transports were furnished by Spain. There were fifty thousand sailors and rowers and thirty-one thousand soldiers. The nineteen thousand supplied by Philip included German and Italian mercenaries and were augmented by eight thousand Venetian soldiers, as well as two thousand sent from the papal states and two thousand volunteers from Spain. A review of the armada was made by the admirals and the plan of sea battle formation carefully rehearsed. Bishop Odescalchi came to bless the fleet and to give the Pope's special blessing to Don Juan and his assurance of victory if he offered battle to the enemy of Christ. If he should fail the hopes of the Holy Father, "the pontiff himself, with his grey hairs, would go to war and put to shame idle

youth." He reminded the youthful admiral that St. Isidore of Seville had prophesied that such a battle as was imminent would be victorious under a youthful commander closely resembling Don Juan himself.

What a never-to-be-forgotten sight the fleet must have presented as the galleys sailed past the papal nuncio on the shore, his scarlet robe floating in the morning breeze, while with uplifted hand he made the sign of the cross, blessing each ship as it passed before him! Kneeling on the decks were the knights whose armor shone in the morning sunlight, but Don Juan stood erect (like another St. Liberius, valiant in shining armor) under the standard of our Lady through whose submission had come salvation to mankind.

The procedure of naval discipline adopted by Don Juan was never learned in military schools! It was the Pope's desire which the young commander adopted. No women were allowed aboard any of the vessels. Blasphemy was punished by death. The generalissimo fasted for three days. The entire crew and all of the officers confessed and received Holy Communion. So numerous were the confessions that the Jesuit priests ashore had to assist the chaplains aboard the galleys. Six Spanish-speaking Jesuits, sent by Francis Borgia, were chaplains of the Spanish fleet. Dominicans, Capuchins, and Franciscans also assisted. They went among the galley slaves, men condemned to hard labor for vile crimes, and urged them to call upon God who would free them from their sins and give to them His promised reward.

The fleet was divided into four squadrons which sailed toward Corfù.[2] Off the coast of Albania they assembled for battle formation. Here a serious dispute arose between

[2] Where the Turks had left behind them their customary memorials: gutted houses and ruined churches, broken crucifixes, and mangled bodies

Vernier and Don Juan which Colonna succeeded in settling by putting Agostino Barbarigo in Vernier's place. The scouts, sent out to reconnoiter and to discover the position of the enemy's fleet, returned with the information that they were in the harbor of Lepanto. At this psychological moment news reached the Christian fleet of the fall of Famagusta and the horrible tortures and hideous murder of the brave Bragadino and the destruction of the city by the sadistic Turks. The entire fleet needed no further motive to inflict deserved punishment upon the Moslems.

It was on the sixth of October when, in spite of unfavorable winds, the Christian fleet hoisted anchor and set sail along the Adriatic and came to the Gulf of Patras. In the early morning of the following day Don Juan, after a hurried consultation with Vernier, with whom he seems to have made his peace, gave the signal of attack by ordering a cannon fired and the banner of the Holy League was unfurled over the masthead of Don Juan's galley. The priests gave a general absolution, and a fervent prayer to heaven ascended from the crew, while from the throats of thousands of soldiers and sailors came lusty shouts of *"Vittoria! Vittoria! Viva Cristo!"*

Doria led the vanguard with fifty-four galleys flying green banners. Don Juan took the center under the azure banners of our Lady. Marcantonio Colonna was on the Pope's flagship at Don Juan's right; while Vernier, who is described as "a cantankerous old sea-dog,"[3] was at his left. The ships under the Venetian Barbarigo followed

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of priests and women and even of little children, where dogs and vultures feasted in horrible gluttony. If a man aboard the Christian fleet had doubted the compelling righteousness of his cause, this sight was enough to spur him on to superhuman effort!

[3] By Walsh in his incomparable description of the Battle of Lepanto in his *Philip II.*

flying yellow colors, while the rear was protected by the marques of Santa Cruz with thirty Spanish galleys and a few from Italy under white banners. When the returning scouts informed the admirals that a part of the Turkish fleet had left the Gulf of Corinth for Constantinople in anticipation of the storms which were due at this season of the year, and that among those who had departed was Aluch Ali, a navigator famed in his science, who had set sail for Algiers with seventy-three galleys, no moment seemed more propitious to the Christian leaders. They set out in hot pursuit. The Christians' armada, obliged to row their galleys as the wind was becalmed, passed through the Ionian Sea. They passed Nicopolis and ancient Actium, reminiscent of Antony and Cleopatra's luxurious idling before fate overtook them. They skirted Santa Maura to Cephalonia which protects the tiny isle of Ithica where Penelope knitted and awaited the return of Ulysses. Haunted by the reports of the fate of Famagusta and the sights of Corfù, the soldiers and sailors were prepared to fight like demons – or like avenging angels! Luckily, perhaps, they did not know that the report of Ali's departure was pure fiction, and that he awaited their arrival in the Gulf of Patras. The night was black and the sea overhung with a heavy fog. Not a star shone. The galleys were enwrapped in an ominous silence.

Shortly after midnight on Sunday, the seventh of October, a strong fresh breeze arose from the west. Suddenly the stars awoke over the Ionian Sea. The fog lifted and Don Juan, who did not sleep that night aboard his *Real,* found himself and his ships flooded in a bright moonlight. At once he gave the command to set sail and "do or die." The anchors were hoisted. The sails were unfurled. They raced the dawn as if driven by the Hound of Heaven. The sun burst forth over the sea like a great

Chinese lantern, flooding the choppy waves with a churning foam of pure gold. From his vantage point in the van of the fleet Doria sighted the enemy squadron, about twelve miles off. The signal flag to the other galleys was raised aloft on Doria's masthead. Don Juan saw the signal and ordered his green banner, the sign of battle array, to be hoisted. The myriad oars of the galley slaves tore the waves apart and drove the six Venetian galleys forward toward the enemy. To prevent confusion, two miles divided each of the three sections of the Christian fleet.

With consummate skill the Venetian commander, Barbarigo, with his contingent of sixty-four galleys, hove to along the Aetolian coast to prevent an encircling movement by the enemy. Don Juan approached in the center with his sixty-three galleys, with Colonna and Vernier on either side of him, while De Requesens followed immediately behind him. Doria's squadron of sixty vessels assumed the most dangerous position nearest the open sea. Thirty-five vessels under the marques of Santa Cruz were to be held in reserve and to give support wherever it was needed. Thus, it has been claimed by those familiar with naval tactics at the time, everything was planned beforehand for the victory that ensued. Nothing was left to chance. Skillful maneuvering and detailed preparation in accordance with the best naval strategy foredoomed the Turks to their first sea disaster.

But who shall say that the prayers of a little shrunken old man kneeling in his Vatican chapel did not also win the foreordained delivery of Christian slaves, the salvation of Europe from the Turkish menace which had given Christians no peace for centuries, and the destruction of the Ottoman power in Europe? It is said that Pius "prayed without ceasing" while the battle progressed. The enemy was mighty and had prevailed so often!

In fact, the forces opposing each other were almost evenly matched. The Moslems had a grand total of two hundred and eighty-six galleys and Hascen Bey had just arrived with twenty-two more from Tripoli. Opposed to Barbarigo with fifty-five galleys under him, was Mohammed Siroco. Don Juan was opposed by two able Turkish officers, Ali Pasha and Petrew, with ninety-six galleys. Doria faced the frontal attack of Aluch Ali, well esteemed as a formidable naval expert, with his seventy-three vessels. Suddenly the wind shifted to the east to the advantage of the Turks who advanced in perfect formation under full sail; while the Christian fleet had to rely upon their oarsmen. But before the combat began the sea was becalmed and the two fleets awaited a change of wind for four hours. It is said that during this delay Doria hastened to the *Real* and consulted Don Juan, strongly advising against attack in the face of so formidable a fleet which he had counted. Don Juan angrily protested, declaring: "This is the time to fight; not to talk!" Then Doria drew up the final battle line, and his counsel prevailed when he suggested that the fourteen-foot spurs be cut away from the prows of the *Real,* which were deadly to the enemy galleys when handled by a hundred galley slaves, but worse than useless in hand to hand combat when locked in a death grapple with the foe, ship lashed to ship. Don Juan was impressed by Doria's arguments, and ordered the *espolones* to be cast into the sea.

To inspire his soldiers to attack the enemy, Don Juan went from one galley to another, holding aloft the crucifix, and shouting: "Ha, valorous Christians! Now is the time for courage! Be conquerors! Humble the pride of the enemy and win glorious victory!" One long, unbroken cheer passed from galley to galley as the Pope's banner of

the League arose beside the blue standard of Our Lady of Guadalupe on the *Real*. As the Turks advanced in the form of a half moon, Don Juan threw himself upon his knees and prayed. All the soldiers and sailors did likewise, while the priests held aloft the crucifixes. Then a profound silence fell upon the Christian crew not unlike that which follows the holding aloft of the Host at Mass. On this silence broke the savage derisive cries of the Mohammedans.

Ali Pasha opened the battle with a cannon shot into the Christian center. Don Juan answered with a loud reply from his cannon. Suddenly the wind shifted again in favor of the Christians and the Moslems were forced to resort to their galley slaves at the oars. The Venetian galleys opened fire and split the enemy's formation. Then the Turkish right under Mohammed Siroco tried to push forward into the open sea between the Venetian fleet and the Aetolian shore. Five Moorish galleys bore down upon Barbarigo, aiming their poisoned arrows into the Christian galleys. Now they came so close that ship was lashed to ship and the fighting was hand to hand. The courageous Barbarigo for one moment let his shield fall from before his face to shout an order, and in that instant he was shot through the eye with one of the poisoned arrows. Doria suddenly left his line and went to the rescue of the Venetians, leaving a space between his squadron and Don Juan's center. At once Aluch Ali, the apostate Italian, crashed between the separated squadrons with his best Tripoli ships. Doria was greatly outnumbered, but his soldiers fought gloriously, and fell heroically. Of his galleys, ten were depleted of fighting men who fell in the first hour of the engagement. The remaining comrades at arms fought on, praying for succor, and desperately holding their ships. Santa Cruz went to the aid of the Vene-

tians and the entire squadron of Don Juan was locked in deadly combat with Ali Pasha who had made straight for the *Real* when he saw Don Juan's colors flying. The galleys were lashed as they crashed together. Five hundred picked troops, all Janissaries, manned Ali's galley.

This was the moment Don Juan had prayed for! He directed and shouted orders to his men in the terrible hand-to-hand fighting. From deck to deck he flew for two full hours, firing his men with courage, and disregarding his own life. As fast as the Janissaries fell they were reinforced with fresh troops from the seven Turkish galleys standing by to give aid to Ali's *Sultana*. They poured aboard the *Real* and were twice forced back by the Spanish soldiers. Don Juan was wounded in the foot just as Santa Cruz, who had saved the Venetians, came to the aid of the *Real* with two hundred reserves.

So heartened were the Christians that they threw all their weight against Ali and his Janissaries. The Christians charged the Turks thrice and thrice were thrown back. It was a dance of death, ghastly and terrible. The decks were slippery with blood. The seas were red. Like deer in a forest whose antlers are locked, so the ships were locked in a deadly embrace, their masts entangled and their timbers creaking and breaking into shards. Cervantes, who was to live to become immortal, lost his left hand. Seventy-year-old Vernier, sword in hand, fought at the head of his men. The issue was extremely doubtful when Ali Pasha in his brave defense against the terrific onrush of the Christians fell, struck by a ball from a Spanish harquebus. His body was laid at the feet of Don Juan. With the death of their courageous leader, the Moslems took to flight, and left the victory to the Christians. It was a costly victory, but the Turks had fled — those who remained to get away!

The sun was sinking over the crimsoned sea. Doria's right wing was still engaged with the formidable Aluch Ali, and although covered from head to foot with blood, Doria escaped without a wound! Aluch Ali, seeing the Turkish fleet dispersing, managed to withdraw from between the Christian center and right. He overtook a galley manned with the Knights of Malta whom he hated with fury. Boarding its deck, he slew all the knights and the crew, and took over the vessel. But he was in turn attacked by Santa Cruz and abandoned his prize, hastily flying with forty of his best ships. Doria pursued him far into the night.

In the port of Petala the Christians took shelter and counted their dead and their booty. They had lost eight thousand Spaniards, eight hundred of the Pope's men, and five thousand Venetians. The Moslems lost twenty-five thousand men who were slain and five thousand captured. Ten thousand Christian slaves were set free. Of ships lost in the sea the Turkish price was two hundred and twenty-four vessels; one hundred and thirty were captured and ninety burned.

Don Juan at once sent to Philip of Spain the news of the victory and he dispatched a messenger to the Pope at Rome. But Pius V already knew the outcome of the critical and decisive Battle of Lepanto! He was engaged in some business negotiations with his treasurer-general, Bartolomeo Busotti, when of a sudden he broke off the discussion, went to the window, and threw it open. There for a time he stood transfixed as he gazed into the open sky. Then, his face alight with transport, he exclaimed to his treasurer:

"God be with you! This is not the time for business. Let us give thanks to Jesus Christ, for our fleet has just conquered."

Hurrying to his chapel, Pius fell prostrate before the altar and gave thanks to God for what he knew was certain victory. When he came out those who saw him were astonished by his light step and his ecstatic expression.

When his vision had been verified through human agencies, by the messengers arriving from Venice on the evening of October twenty-first, two weeks later, Pius went to St. Peter's to chant the *Te Deum Laudamus.* Rome was illuminated with flaming torches on every palace. Bells rang and cannons roared the glad news of victory, which Pius V commemorated by making October the seventh the Feast of the Holy Rosary, and adding to the Litany of Our Lady of Loreto the title, "Help of Christians."

Myriad are the paintings which mighty artists have produced of the dramatic naval Battle of Lepanto. Too numerous to mention are the poems that were written by contemporary Spanish and Italian poets. In every court of Europe geniuses were employed to commemorate this, the greatest naval victory of Christendom and the severest blow ever struck against the Moslems. In Rome, in Madrid, in the Doges' palace in Venice, in Vienna – palaces, museums, churches, and convents are rich in memorials of the classic event. When the Chapel of Santi Giovanni e Poalo in Venice was destroyed by fire in 1867, the famous painting by Jacopo Tintoretto and his son, Domenico, perished. Likewise the incomparable painting by Tintoretto on the wall of the Doges' palace was lost to the world, but it was replaced by the great painting of Andrea Vicentino. Paolo Veronese has left two great canvases of the Battle of Lepanto which are in Venice. One is in the Doges' palace and the other in the Accademia. Titian, at the age of ninety-five, painted the battle for

Philip II, one of his masterpieces of color, which now hangs in the Madrid Gallery.

Of modern poets no one has seized the spirit of the event and expressed it so forcefully as has Gilbert Chesterton in his poem, *Lepanto*. His intimate description of the watchful pontiff of Rome keeping vigil is incomparable:

> The Pope was in his chapel before the day of battle broke,
> (Don John of Austria is hidden in the smoke.)
> The hidden room in a man's house where God sits all the year,
> The secret window whence the world looks small and very dear.

And the lines describing the Christian slaves before their liberation:

> And above the ships are palaces of brown, black-bearded chiefs,
> And below the ships are prisons, where with multitudinous griefs,
> Christian captives sick and sunless, all a laboring race repines
> Like a race in sunken cities, like a nation in the mines. . . .
>
> They are countless, voiceless, hopeless as those fallen or fleeing on
> Before the high Kings' horses in the granite of Babylon.
> And many a one grows witless in his quiet room in hell
> Where a yellow face looks inward through the lattice of his cell.

And after!

> Thronging of the thousands up that labour under sea
> White for bliss and blind for sun and stunned for liberty.
> *Vivat Hispania!*
> *Domino Gloria!*
> Don John of Austria
> Has set his people free!

Small wonder that when they waked the pontiff to confirm his vision the aged Pius declared, like Simeon of old: *"Nunc dimittis servum tuum in pace!"* As he awaited the dawn the Pope was too excited with joy to sleep again that night. When he met his cardinals and ambassadors in audience the next day, he quoted the words of the Gospel of St. John: *Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes,* thus referring appropriately to the Christian name of Don Juan of Austria.

The pontiff wrote letters of congratulation to each of the Christian admirals; and he urged that the Christian powers follow up this great victory by joining the League and sharing in future glory — for this indefatigable old warrior-saint had the crusading spirit burning so brightly within him that he saw not only Europe freed for all time from the Moslem menace but the recovery of Jerusalem as well!

Meanwhile Rome awaited the return of the Pope's admiral, Marcantonio Colonna, with impatience. Colonna, like Don Juan, was youthful and handsome. The Romans, who have always loved magnificent pageantry, were keen about making the advent of this scion of one of its oldest and most famous families a historic and symbolic event. Although their elaborate preparations called for his arrival in a gilded chariot after the manner of a returning Caesar, Pius V was opposed, and the idea was reluctantly discarded by the pomp-loving Romans. Yet Colonna did arrive in splendid triumph! It was not until December that the admiral entered the Eternal City. Rome was awake in the early morning of the fourth, agog with excitement. Along the Via Appia, under the gates of St. Sebastian, the Swiss Guard and conservatori awaited him. He was a figure to be admired as he rode on a white charger which the Pope had presented, unarmed and

without any other color than the Golden Fleece and his tunic of gold which shone under the black silk mantle lined with fur. Upon his head he wore a black velvet cap with a white plume held in place by a clasp of pearl.

Rome was ablaze with tapestries and banners hung from palaces in each of its thirteen rioni. The cortege included all the famous and ancient houses of Rome, led by the Senator of Rome and the conservatori. Giovanni Giorgio Caesarini, Pompeo Colonna, Onorato Caetani, and the two nephews of the pontiff, his namesake, Michele, and Girolamo Bonelli, awaited the triumphal procession. Along the Appian Way, under the triumphal arches of Constantine and Titus, the procession advanced, while one hundred seventy Turkish prisoners, as exhibits of victory over the Turkish enemy, followed in chains. They crossed the Campidoglio and approached San Marco, and came along the Via Papale to St. Angelo's bridge, arriving at St. Peter's. Here, before the tomb of the first Apostle, Colonna knelt and received the papal blessing. Pius exhorted the victorious admiral to give to God full glory for His aid, "Who, despite our sins, has been merciful and kind."

Whatever jealousies still existed to thwart and obstruct the papal aims, Pius V's motives were throughout pure and unadulterated by any nationalistic inhibitions. The Venetians wanted to use the League for their own ends in the Levant; while Philip II wanted to take action against the Berbers in northern Africa. Philip's attitude was largely influenced by the very real fear of France, whose government, after the victory of Lepanto, had proposed an alliance with the sultan! The Spanish king well knew that at the same time France was conniving with the Huguenots, with the rebels in the Netherlands, and with Elizabeth of England. It is altogether likely that he ac-

tually feared an alliance which would bring a simultaneous attack by France, the Netherlands, the English, and the Turks! But the militant pontiff dreamed of the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher, by first capturing Constantinople. He had the most elaborate and detailed plans for the accomplishment of these aims. In spite of his numerous disappointments with the jealousies of the various powers, the pontiff never ceased to utilize even the slightest chance to appeal to the European states through his nuncios. "We are now masters of the sea," declared the Pope. "Now is the time to take full advantage of the situation and not recline on our oars. Follow up the victory of Lepanto by pushing the Turks from the Dardanelles! Take Gallipoli," the pontiff urged. Pius believed that the crusade was not only necessary, but also perfectly feasible.

Although the aged and dying pontiff was not to realize his carefully worked-out plans for a crusade, he did break the might of the Turkish power. From the Battle of Lepanto dates the slow but steady decline of Ottoman sea power. For the first time in history the myth of the invincibility of the naval power of the Turks was destroyed. This much the Pope of Rome, Pius V, undoubtedly accomplished.

It is remarkable that, in spite of the pontiff's old ailment, he seemed to take on new strength after victory crowned his tireless efforts. When he was advised to take better care of himself, he only laughed and declared, "I never felt better!" Later, when he was obliged to return to his rigorous diet, he appeared to recover from what had seemed an ominous lessening of vitality. He asserted that he would not consult the doctors again. After the victory of Lepanto, his health improved. Clearly it acted as a tonic and he seemed to recapture his youth! In July

of '71, he repaired to his villa. In September the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, speaks of Pius' good health. Late in the month of October, on Sunday, the twenty-eighth, Pius celebrated the Mass in thanksgiving for victory, and he was present for the Requiem Mass for the fallen, the next day. On the last day of October he again made the pilgrimage of the Seven Basilicas of Rome. At Christmas Pius V assisted at Midnight Mass and said two low Masses, giving Holy Communion to his own household, and then he pontificated at St. Peter's.

His old trouble returned on January the eighth, 1572, yet the pontiff rallied as he had done so many times. But by the middle of March it set in with renewed violence, and his diet of asses's milk brought no relief. His constitution, which had appeared so vigorous, suddenly collapsed. At the end of March the doctors despaired of the Pope's recovery. It was only a matter of time. At Eastertide, although he ardently desired to assist at the Pontifical Mass (April 6, 1572), he was unable to rise from his bed. But one more desire was fulfilled. Although his pain was excruciating, it was announced that he would bless his people from the loggia of St. Peter's. With superhuman effort he arose and pronounced the solemn and comforting words to the kneeling throngs who had come to receive once more the blessing of this man of God, which was spoken in clear, distinct tones.

Strange to say, after this painful effort, Pius felt better for a number of days! He stoutly refused to consider an operation, probably from motives of modesty.[5] To his bodily ailments were added tortures of mind as well. For he was continually badgered about the dispensation for Marguerite of Valois' marriage to Henry of Navarre by

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[5] Pastor.

France's threat of breaking off diplomatic relations with the Holy See; Maximilian II was endlessly quarreling because of the coronation of Cosimo, while Philip II felt outraged by the papal attitude in the Carranza affair!

In spite of all these endless contentions, perhaps because of them, Pius V determined to make the pilgrimage of the Seven Basilicas once more! It was in vain that his intimates and the physicians protested. An adamant will opposed them all. On April the twenty-first, in spite of a cold breeze from the sea, this dying man traversed more than an Italian mile afoot, as he had done so many times before. The crowds thronged about him, to whom he gave his last blessing with kindly unction. It was his final mingling with the Roman people who had learned to reverence and love him so much. He had lashed his body to its last duty.

Lingering on for a few days longer, he conducted some business, but spent most of his time in prayer. He comforted those about him who wept, trying to console them with the assurance that if it were necessary God would raise up from the very stones a man to succeed him, upon whom the Church could lean in the difficult times ahead. Even in his last moments he thought of the crusade so dear to his heart and commanded those about him to continue to fight against the Mohammedan hordes. He handed over to his treasurer a sum of thirteen thousand scudi, telling him it would be useful for the League.

On the last day of April[6] Pius had himself clothed in his monk's habit, for he wished to die a Dominican. He lay quiet with folded hands awaiting death, occasionally wracked by violent pains. "Lord, increase my pains, but increase my patience, too!" he was heard to pray. After

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[6] The feast day of St. Catherine of Siena.

so much suffering of mind and body, the heroic old man in the Vatican breathed his last, on the first of May, 1572. He was sixty-six years of age and had filled Peter's Chair with unfailing trust and patience and rigorous discipline for six years, seven months, and twenty-three days. He had fought the heresy of Luther and all its multitudinous offshoots, the apostasy of England, the recalcitrance of France, the lethargy of Maximilian II, and the laxity of Sigismund Augustus of Poland. The seeds of missionary labor he planted have never ceased to bring forth abundant harvest for the Church. With holy zeal Pius V had dared to beard the Turk in his own lair on the sea. He broke the power of the Ottoman tyrants. He freed Christian slaves. He had, in fact, accomplished the impossible. For no matter how much acclaim Colonna and Don Juan received for their splendid exploits, nor what glory Venier, Doria, and Barbarigo had justly won, it was the indomitable will of Pius V that, in the face of a mountain of opposition, had made all these brave men's achievements possible![7]

Truly a great statesman and a mighty pontiff departed this earth when Pius V died! That he was a saint was conceded even by his enemies. It needed only the Church's official recognition to proclaim his sainthood. Sixtus V, his successor, who had Pius V's body translated to Santa Maria Maggiore in 1588, where it lies today in the same chapel that enshrines the Crib, began the process of canonization. It was not, however, until May the tenth, 1672, a century later, that the beatification took place under Clement X, to be followed in 1712, on May the

[7] Von Ranke says of Pius V's death: "His loss was felt more immediately than he had himself anticipated; but also, there was a unity established, a force called into existence, by whose inherent power, the course into which he had directed the nations would inevitably be confirmed and maintained."

twenty-second, by his canonization by Clement XI, who named his feast day May the fifth. Pius V is the last Pope to have been canonized up to the present time.

On his feast day every year his tomb at Santa Maria Maggiore is a magnet attracting priests and laymen, women, and little children, who bring flowers and offer prayers before the remains of the great, heroic, militant pontiff, Pius V, to whom the Church and the world owe so much. When this valiant soldier of Jesus Christ finally sheathed the sword of Saint Michael which he had wielded so gallantly all his life in defense of Christendom, he might well have uttered the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles: "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith."

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